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1854

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SURREY

Archæological Collections,

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY.

PUBLISHED BY

The Surrey Archæological Society.

VOL. XXIII.

LONDON:

Printed by Bowerth & Co. Limited, for

THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

CASTLE ARCH, GUILDFORD.

MDCCCCX.

[The Council of the Surrey Archæological Society desires it to be distinctly understood that it is not responsible for any statements or opinions expressed in the Collections; the Authors of the several Communications being alone accountable for the same.]

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REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS.

The Fifty-fourth Annual General Meeting, in accordance with Rule XIII, to receive and consider the Report of Council, the Balance-sheet and Statement of Assets and Liabilities, to the 31st December, 1908, and to elect officers, was held at the Castle Arch, Guildford, on Saturday the 27th of March, 1909, at 3 p.m., the Right Hon. Lord Farrer, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and adopted.

The Honorary Secretary then read the Balance-sheet and Statement of Assets and Liabilities to the 31st of December, 1908.

On the motion of Dr. W. E. St. L. Finny, seconded by Sir Edward Brabrook, C.B., it was resolved "That the Balance-sheet and Statement of Assets and Liabilities be received, adopted, and entered on the Minutes."

The Chairman then requested the Honorary Secretary to read the Report of Council for 1908.

REPORT OF COUNCIL.

The Council of the Surrey Archæological Society has much pleasure in submitting this, its Fifty-fourth Annual Report, together with the Cash Account and Statement of Assets and Liabilities, to the 31st of December, 1908.

An Afternoon Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, May 30th, at Reigate, when the Parish Church, the Castle grounds and the ancient caves, and the Priory were inspected,

The Annual Excursion was held on Wednesday, July 15th, the meeting place being Dorking, whence Capel, Ockley, Oakwood, and Anstiebury were visited.

The Council takes this opportunity of returning the thanks of the Society to all who assisted in rendering these meetings successful.

During the year the Annual Volume (Vol. XXI) for 1907 was issued, and contained valuable papers by Mr. Harold F. Bidder, F.S.A., Mr. Reginald A. Smith, B.A., F.S.A., Mr. R. A. Roberts, Mr. Philip M. Johnston, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., Mr. H. E. Malden, M.A., Mr. George

C. Druce, Mr. P. Woods, C.B., Mr. George Clinch, F.G.S., Miss Eleanor Lloyd, and Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A. The Annual Volume for the past year (Vol. XXII) is in the press, and will be issued in due course to all Members not in arrear with their subscriptions for 1908.

Owing to the heavy nature of the work, the compilation of the General Index to the first twenty volumes of the *Collections* has taken considerably longer than was anticipated, but it is now completed, and after its final revision in manuscript by the Editor will, it is hoped, be shortly ready for the press.

Early in the year the Council, feeling that the available space in the Society's Museum was too limited to provide for the effective display of all the articles comprised in Miss Jekyll's collection and to permit of the Society being in a position to accept for preservation and exhibition many of the gifts that might in future be made to it in the shape of objects of archæological or historical interest, adopted a resolution that was in due course forwarded to the Town Clerk of Guildford, to the effect that, in the event of his Corporation providing a suitable Museum for the town, the Council would be pleased to consider the placing therein of the Society's collections. At the same time a temporary loan was sanctioned to the Museum of Kingston-upon-Thames of a number of the objects in Miss Jekyll's collection. Since then, the Members of the Museum Committee have met a Sub-Committee of the Town Council of Guildford to discuss the question, and a generous donor in the person of Mr. Alderman Smallpeice, a Member of the Society, has come forward and offered to meet the cost of building an addition to the Society's present Museum, and to vest the building in the Town Council, if the Town Council should see its way to making arrangements for its subsequent maintenance. This offer has now been accepted by the Town Council, which has also agreed to provide towards the upkeep of the new Museum an annual sum not exceeding £25, and that its management should be vested in a joint committee to be appointed by the Town Council and this Society. The Council of the Society has already declared its adoption of this scheme, and has agreed to contribute a sum of £10 annually from the Society's funds over and above the amount at present expended on the Museum.

The excavations on the site of the Romano-British settlement at Leigh Hill, Cobham, kindly placed at the Society's disposal by Messrs. F. and H. F. Higgs, have been continued during the year under the supervision of Mr. Henry Horncastle and Mr. Frank E. Spiers, and with the expert advice of Mr. Reginald A. Smith, B.A., F.S.A., of the British Museum. A grant of £5 from the Society's funds has been made by the Council towards the work, which has resulted in the discovery of further remains of considerable interest. As, however, it is believed that the continuation of the work is not now likely to yield any great addition to the knowledge already acquired of the conditions under which the ancient inhabitants of these pit-dwellings lived, and as the funds at the Society's disposal for the purpose have already been somewhat exceeded, it has been decided to bring these excavations to a close.

A first account of the interesting results brought to light, written by Mr. Smith, has already appeared in Vol. XXI of the *Collections*, and the concluding report will be printed in the forthcoming volume.

Some experimental excavations during the year were also made on behalf of the Society on Worms Heath, where a circular shaft in the chalk outcrop on the side of a gravel pit appeared to be of such symmetrical formation as to suggest the possibility of its being due to human agency. After descending to some depth, though the remarkable symmetry was well maintained, the absence of any pick-marks in the sides and of any trace of human implements convinced the experts present that the shaft was the result solely of natural causes, and the work being unlikely to result in anything of special archæological interest was abandoned.

The Council wishes to take this opportunity of returning its thanks to Mr. Reginald A. Smith for the valuable services he has done the Society during the last few years, and for his willingness at all times to place his deep knowledge in matters affecting the early history of the county at its disposal. In recognition of these services the Council hereby gives notice, in accordance with Rule X, that it proposes to nominate Mr. Smith for election at the Annual General Meeting as an honorary Member of the Society.

The Council regrets that the losses during the year, both by death and resignation, should have been so numerous as to exceed slightly the accretion to the Society's numbers by the election of new Members. The Council must impress upon the Members that if the Society is to maintain the reputation it has already gained by the high standard of its work, it must depend upon their co-operation in enlisting the interests of their friends in its objects and in thereby inducing them to offer themselves as candidates for membership.

Among the losses by death the Council has to deplore that of Mr. W. J. Evelyn, F.S.A., an original Vice-President of the Society. It is of interest to record that Mr. Evelyn took the Chair at the first Annual General Meeting so long ago as 1854, and his presence at the Jubilee Celebration in 1904 furnished a unique record in the Society's annals. Mr. Evelyn always took great interest in the Society's work, and his kind and hospitable reception of the Members at Wotton in 1901 will be well remembered.

In Mr. Robert Hovenden, F.S.A., the Council has lost one of its Members whose sound business instincts, combined with his deep interest in archæological research, had rendered the Society very great assistance in past years. Mr. Hovenden had been a Member of the Council since 1878, and the serious illness which prevented him during the last few years from taking an active part in the Society's work has been matter of much regret.

The vacancy on the Council, caused by the death of Mr. Hovenden, has been filled by the due election of Lieut.-Col. C. A. Gordon Clark, of Cobham.

Owing to Mr. Giuseppi having found that the ever-increasing work of the Society, together with other calls upon his time, did not permit him to continue the secretarial duties without assistance, the Council

has appointed Mr. C. H. Jenkinson, B.A., to act in conjunction with him as a joint Honorary Secretary.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation, but are eligible for re-election :—Lieut.-Col. Godwin-Austen, F.R.S.; Arthur F. Charrington, Esq.; Lieut.-Col. C. A. Gordon Clark; The Rev. T. S. Cooper, M.A., F.S.A.; George C. Druce, Esq.; Mill Stephenson, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.; Arthur J. Style, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.; and Sir John Watney, F.S.A.

The number of Members is 483, viz.: Annual, 401; Life, 81; Honorary, 1. During the year 31 new Members have been elected, viz.: Annual, 28; Life, 2; Honorary, 1. One Member, who had previously joined the Society as an Annual subscriber, has compounded for her subscriptions. By death the Society has lost 11 Members, viz., Annual, 7; Life, 4. By resignation, 22 Members. Total, 33. Loss over gain, 2.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Col. Annand, it was resolved "That the Report of Council for 1908 be received, adopted, and entered on the Minutes."

The following gentlemen were re-elected Members of Council :— Lieut.-Col. Godwin-Austin, F.R.S.; Arthur F. Charrington, Esq.; Lieut.-Col. C. A. Gordon Clark; The Rev. T. S. Cooper, M.A., F.S.A.; George C. Druce, Esq.; Mill Stephenson, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.; Arthur J. Style, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.; and Sir John Watney, F.S.A.

Moved, seconded, and carried, "That the thanks of the Society be given to the President, Council and Officers of the Society for their services during the past year."

The Honorary Secretaries were re-elected, with a vote of thanks for their services during the past year.

Thanks were also passed to the Auditors, Mr. W. F. Potter and Mr. Cecil T. Davis, who were re-appointed.

Upon the motion of Mr. Ralph Nevill, seconded by Dr. Finny, and carried unanimously, Mr. Reginald Allender Smith, B.A., F.S.A., of the British Museum, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society, in accordance with Rule X.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. H. E. Malden, seconded by Mr. R. Garraway Rice, and carried unanimously, terminated the proceedings.

SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Cash Account for the Year ending December 31st, 1908.

RECEIPTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward 1st January, 1908 ...	94 19 4	
„ Petty Cash in hands of Hon. Secretary ...	1 12 10	
		96 12 2
„ Four Dividends on £375 : 8*s.* 5*d.*, 2½ per cent. stock	...	8 18 4
„ Sale of Publications	...	4 19 2
„ Four Quarters' Rent of 2, Castle Arch, Guildford, to Michaelmas	...	10 0 0
„ Donations	..	1 2 0
„ Admission Fees to Museum	...	4 9 6
„ 3 Life Compositions	...	22 10 0
„ 26 Entrance Fees	...	13 0 0
„ 361 Annual Subscriptions, viz :—		
1 for 1904	0 10 0	
2 „ 1905	1 0 0	
1 „ 1906	0 10 0	
9 „ 1907	4 10 0	
331 „ 1908	165 10 0	
17 „ 1909 (in advance)	8 10 0	
		180 10 0
„ Excursion and Meetings Account :—		
Receipts	26 19 9	
Less Expenses	26 11 11	
		0 7 10
		£342 9 0

MONTAGUE S. GIUSEPPI,
C. HILARY JENKINSON, } HON. SECRETARIES.

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.
By Rent, Four Quarters to Christmas	12 0 0
„ Rates and Taxes	6 7 7
„ Salary of Librarian and Curator (to June 30)	10 0 0
„ Caretaker, Four Quarters to Christmas	10 0 0
„ Printing and Postage, Vol. XXI	105 12 6
„ Illustrating Vol. XXI	20 10 4
„ Indexing Vol. XXI	3 0 0
„ Binding Vol. XXI	13 15 6
„ Illustrating Vol. XXII	8 14 1
„ Stereotype Blocks for Vol. XXII	1 2 6
„ Printing Circulars, Stamped Envelopes, &c.	24 19 0
„ Museum, Library and Office Expenses	9 17 3
„ Leigh Hill, Cobham, Excavation Fund	5 0 0
„ Excavations on Worms Heath	0 18 7
„ Index to Archæological Papers (1906)	3 2 6
„ Subscription to Harleian Society	1 1 0
„ „ „ Archæological Congress	1 0 0
„ „ „ the Photographic Survey and Record of Surrey	0 5 0
„ Hire of Room for Council Meetings	2 12 6
„ Deposit Account	15 0 0
„ Fire and Burglary Insurance	0 17 6
„ Entrance Fee and Annual Subscription, credited in error, refunded	1 0 0
	£256 15 10
Balance, 31st December, 1908	82 2 8
Petty Cash in hands of Hon. Secs.	3 10 6
	£342 9 0

The above Account has been examined by us and found correct.

W. F. POTTER,
CECIL T. DAVIS, } AUDITORS.

SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Statement of Assets and Liabilities, December 31st, 1908.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
By Librarian's Salary, half-year to 31st December	5	0	0	By Balance, 31st December, 1908	82	2	8
Balance	83	3	2	„ Petty Cash in hands of Hon. Secretaries...	3	10	6
				„ One Quarter's Rent to Christmas, 1908 ...	2	10	0
	£88	3	2		£88	3	2

The Annual Volume of the *Collections* for 1908 not having been sufficiently advanced in the press at the end of the year, it has not been found possible to include the estimate of its cost in the above statement.

The arrears of Subscription for 1906 are five, for 1907 ten, and for 1908 forty-four. Total, fifty-nine.

The Reserve Fund consists of £375 : 8*s.* 5*d.* in the 2½ per cent. Consols, and a sum of £45 on deposit pending investment.

MONTAGUE S. GIUSEPPI,
C. HILARY JENKINSON, } *Hon. Secs.*

The Twentieth Congress of Archæological Societies in Union with the Society of Antiquaries, was held at Burlington House, on Wednesday, July 7th, 1909. The Society was represented by Dr. W. E. St. L. Finny and Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A. The circular containing the report of the business transacted is issued to Members with the present volume.

The Annual Excursion was held on Thursday, July 15th, 1909, the meeting-place being Godalming, whence Dunsfold and Chiddingfold were visited. The party drove from Godalming Station, the first place to be visited being Dunsfold Church, which was described by Mr. Philip M. Johnston, F.S.A. An account of the Church has already appeared in the *Collections* (XIII, pp. 1—17). Leaving the Church, a brief halt was made at the Bricklayers' Arms, Dunsfold, for luncheon, after which by the kindness of Miss Bovill a visit was paid to "Willards," an interesting half-timbered house near the Common. The drive was then resumed and Burningfold was next reached. This most interesting house which still retains its early newel staircase and other ancient features was visited by the kind permission of Mr. C. T. A. Robertson. A short paper on its history was read by Mr. H. E. Malden, M.A., and will be found printed at p. 61 of the present volume. Leaving Burningfold, the party drove to Chiddingfold. The first place here to be inspected was the Church, which, in the absence through illness of the Rev. T. S. Cooper, M.A., F.S.A., who had been announced to describe it, was described by Mr. Johnston. The party then visited the Crown Inn by the kind permission of the Proprietor. A short paper, descriptive of its history and interesting architectural features, had been prepared by Mr. Cooper, but in his absence was read by one of the Hon. Secretaries. Afternoon tea was here kindly supplied by Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, after partaking of which, visits were paid, by kind permission of Dr. N. F. Kendall, to his house on Chiddingfold Green, and also to the ancient house at the top of the Green, known in the 14th century as "Hauedmans." A paper on the history of the latter, written by Mr. Cooper, was read. After a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Cooper for their kind hospitality, the party drove to Witley Station, and thus brought to an end a very successful meeting.

LIST OF MEMBERS

AND

RULES

OF THE

Surrey Archæological Society.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY ROWORTH & CO. LIMITED,
FOR
THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
CASTLE ARCH, GUILDFORD.

1910.

Surrey Archæological Society.

Council Room,—CASTLE ARCH, GUILDFORD.

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OF ALBANY.

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Master, J. H., J.P., *Montrose House, Petersham, Surrey.*
May, Thomas, *The Poplars, Manor Road, Richmond, Surrey.*
Mellersh, Alfred W., *Fir Grove, Godalming.*
Milbourn, Thomas, *12, Beaulieu Villas, Finsbury Park, N.*
Miller, A. T., *Emlyn House, Leatherhead.*
Milne, J. Grafton, *Bankside, Goldhill, Farnham.*
Minet, W., M.A., F.S.A., *Fountain Court, Temple, E.C.*
Minet Public Library, *Knatchbull Road, Camberwell, S.E.*
Mitchell, Miss, *Milford Lodge, Godalming.*
Monier-Williams, M. F., *6 and 7, Great Tower Street, E.C.*
Monier-Williams, R., *Chessington, Surrey.*
Moody, Sir J. M., *Cane Hill Asylum, Purley.*
Moore, R., *Courtlands, Park Hill Road, Croydon.*
Morrish, J. J., *Oaklands, Oxshott, Surrey.*
Morshead, E. G. A., M.D., *14, Quarry Street, Guildford.*

Mott, Herbert, *Elm House, West Clandon, near Guildford.*
Mountain, H. S., *5, Albert Gate Court, Hyde Park, S.W.*
Moysey, Miss E. L., *Pitcroft, Guildford.*
Mozley, H. W., *High Street, Haslemere, Surrey.*

N.

Nash, Mrs., *The Garth, Limpsfield Common, Surrey.*
Nevill, Henry, *Bermuda, Warren Road, Guildford.*
Nevill, Ralph, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., *Clifton House, Castle Hill, Guildford.*
Noakes, Wickham, *Selsdon Park, Croydon.*
*Norman, Philip, F.S.A., *45, Evelyn Gardens, South Kensington.*
Norris, Mrs., *Hill View, Rydes Hill, near Guildford.*
*Northey, Rev. E., M.A., *Woodcote House, Epsom.*
*Northumberland, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., F.S.A., *2, Grosvenor Place, W.*
Norton, Oswald Sinclair, *22, Esplanade, Whitley Bay, Northumberland.*

O.

Oates, John, *York Villa, 58, Josephine Avenue, Brixton, S.W.*
*Oke, Alfred W., B.A., LL.M., F.S.A., *32, Denmark Villas, Hove.*
Oliver, Edmund Ward, *New Place, Lingfield, Surrey.*
Onslow, The Right Hon. the Earl of, G.C.M.G., *Clandon Park, Guildford.*
Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

P.

Page, G. F., *Coombe-Barton, Kingston-upon-Thames.*
Palmer, P. G., *157, High Street, Guildford.*
Pannell, Charles, *East Street, Haslemere.*
Parker, Eric, *Holmthorpe, Weybridge.*
Parkes, Mrs. Louis, *61, Cadogan Square, S.W.*, and *The Gables, Holmbury St. Mary, Dorking.*
Parkinson, H. H., *Charnwood, Epsom.*
Parry, C. H., *Daviesites, Charterhouse, Godalming.*
Patrick, George, *Ivanhoe, Woodborough Road, Putney, S.W.*
Patrick, W. T., J.P., *Treverward, Nightingale Road, Guildford.*
Pawle, F. C., J.P., *Northcote, Reigate.*
Peak, Henry, *Westbourne Villa, 50, Woodbridge Road, Guildford.*
Peel, Edward, *Old Sandroyd, Cobham, Surrey.*
Peers, C. R., F.S.A., *14, Lansdowne Road, Wimbledon.*

Peirs, H. V., M.A., *Queen's Well, Carshalton.*
*Pelton, John O., *High Street, Croydon.*
Pennell, Follett, *The Cottage, East Molesey.*
Perkins, W. J., *High Street, Guildford.*
Phillips, Mrs. F. A., *The Manor House, Stoke D'Abernon, Cobham.*
Phillips, Henry L., *18, Kennington Park Road, S.E.*
Phillpot, T. F., *Ditton Lodge, 23, Lewin Road, Streatham, S.W.*
Pilcher, G. T., *Treryn, Frith Hill, Godalming.*
Pilcher, J. G., *Bellefields, Englefield Green, Staines.*
*Pinckard, G. H., *Combe Court, Witley, Godalming, Surrey.*
Pohl, H. G., *40, Trinity Square, E.C.*
Pollen, Willock, *The Old Rectory, Little Bookham.*
Pollock, A. Gordon, *The Old House, Mickleham, Dorking.*
Pollock, Sir F., Bart., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., *Hindhead Copse, Haslemere.*
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Potter, The Ven. Archdeacon Beresford, *Rake House, Milford, Godalming.*
Potter, W. F., *18, York Grove, Queen's Road, Hatcham, S.E.*
Potts, B. L. F., *Clercholt, Holmbury St. Mary, Dorking.*
Powell, Arthur C., *Beneomb, Dorking.*
Powell, Herbert A., J.P., *Piccard's Rough, Guildford.*
Powell, J. George, *The Rowans, Godstone, Surrey.*
Price, W. E., *Bushey View, Hampton Wick.*
Prosser, Miss C., *Mount Pleasant, Putney Heath, S.W.*
Pruen, John A., M.A., F.R.G.S., *Romsdal, Albury Road, Guildford.*
Pulford, F. Gordon, *St. Bernard's, Warlingham, Surrey.*

Q.

Quare, Horace, *Selhurst Road, South Norwood.*
Quinnell, R., *Dewbrook, Blackboys, Sussex.*

R.

Ramsden, J. C., J.P., *Willinghurst, Guildford.*
Randolph, John A., *128, Alexandra Road, Wimbledon, S.W.*
Ratcliff, S. C., M.A., *25, Calton Road, Dulwich, S.E.*
Rawnsley, W. F., J.P., *Manor House, Plonks, Shamley Green.*
Reform Club, *per* The Librarian, *Pall Mall, S.W.*
*Rendall, Rev. Gerald H., Lit.D., *Charterhouse, Godalming.*
Rice, R. Garraway, F.S.A., *23, Cyril Mansions, Prince of Wales Road, S.W.*, and *Carpenter's Hill, Pulborough, Sussex.*
Richmond Public Library, *Richmond, Surrey.*
Rickards, Edward, *Elm Bank, Leatherhead.*
Roberts, Sir Owen, M.A., F.S.A., *Henley Park, Guildford.*

Roberts, R. A., *Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.*
Robson, Mrs., *Walton Lodge, Guildford.*
*Robson, P. A., A.R.I.B.A., *Rede Cottage, near East Grinstead, Sussex.*
Romanis, Rev. W. F. J., M.A., *Waulke Field, Godalming.*
Roscoe, Miss, *Woodcote, West Horsley, Leatherhead.*
Rottmann, Richard, *Amalfi, Lovelace Gardens, Surbiton.*
Rushton, Francis R., *The Holmes, Betchworth.*
Rutson, Mrs., *The Manor House, Byfleet, Surrey.*
Ruvigny and Raineval, Marquis de, *15, Hanover Chambers, Buckingham Street, W.C.*

S.

Sadler, James, *Cherfold, Chiddingfold, Godalming.*
Salmon, Samuel, *Portland House, 73, Basinghall Street, E.C.*, and *Clevelands, Reigate.*
Salomans, Leopold, J.P., *Norbury Park, Dorking.*
Salsbury, R., *2, East Hill Place, Guildford.*
Sandys, E. F., J.P., *Weston Green, Thames Ditton.*
Saunders, J. Carr, *Milton Heath, Dorking.*
Scott, C. J., *Hilgay, Guildford.*
Scott, J. Oldrid, F.S.A., *Ridgeway House, Oxted.*
Sellar, Mrs., *Loekner Holt, Chilworth, Guildford, Surrey.*
Sellwood, Rev. W. M., *82, St. Michael's Road, Aldershot.*
Shallcross, Jaspar, *Laburnums, Banstead, Epsom.*
*Shearer, Donald.
Shepherd, Rev. Henry, M.A., *9, First Avenue, Brighton.*
Shepherd, Sherringham A., *Grafham Grange, Bramley, Guildford.*
Sieveking, A. Forbes, F.S.A., *12, Seymour Street, Portman Square, W.*
Simmonds, J. W., J.P., *Church House, Godalming.*
Simmons, Geo., *Woburn Hill, Addlestone, Surrey.*
Simmons, Miss, *Cotswold, Merrow, Guildford.*
Simon, André, *24, Mark Lane, E.C.*
Skeet, Major Francis J. A., *Hatfield Regis Grange, Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex.*
Smallpeice, F. Ferdinand, *Cross Lanes, Guildford.*
Smith, J. Challenor, F.S.A., *Silchester, Reading.*
Smith, John Hatchard, F.R.I.B.A., *Charlwood, Epsom.*
Smith-Pearse, Rev. T. N. Hart, *Epsom College, Epsom.*
*Sprange, Augustus H., *8, Delamere Terrace, Paddington, W.*
*Stebbing, W. P. D., *78a, Lexham Gardens, W.*
*Stephenson, Mill, B.A., F.S.A., *38, Ritherdon Road, Tooting, S.W.*
Stevens, C. S., *Lagham, South Godstone.*
Stevens, J. W., A.R.I.B.A., *21, New Bridge Street, E.C.*
Stevens, R. N., *Woodham Hall, Woking.*

Story, Philip F., *The National Club, 1, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.*
Strachey, J. St. Loe, *Newland's Corner, Merrow, Guildford.*
Streatham, The Tate Public Library of, *High Street, Streatham, S.W.*
*Style, Arthur J., F.R.I.B.A., *3, Victoria Street, S.W.*, and *Thames Ditton.*
Sullivan, James F., *Rosemead, Chertsey.*
Swinnerton, Rev. G. I., *All Saints' Vicarage, Blackheath, S.E.*
Sykes, Lt.-Col. W. H., *Firfield, Merrow, Guildford.*

T.

Talbot, Lt.-Col. Sir Adelbert, K.C.I.E., *The Hermitage, Effingham, Surrey.*
Taylor, Thomas J., *16, Maddox Street, W.*
Taylor, W. B., *The Birches, Weybridge Common.*
Terry, W. E., *Edgeborough, Guildford.*
Thackeray, Miss, *Southbury, Millmead, Guildford.*
Thatcher, G., *Malvern Mount, 28, Liverpool Road, Kingston Hill.*
Thatcher, T. C., *7, Waldemar Road, Wimbledon, S.W.*
Thomas, Henry J., *London and County Bank, Guildford.*
Thompson, Gibson, *Edenholm, Thames Ditton.*
Thornely, John, J.P., *Esher, Surrey.*
Tickle, Japheth, *2, Crown Court, Cheapside, E.C.*
Todhunter, Miss, *County School for Girls, Guildford.*
Tolhurst, J. G., *St. Alban's, Manor Road, Beckenham, Kent.*
Townend, F. J., *Norton-Lees, 29, Woodstock Road, Croydon.*
Townsend, Rev. J. H., *St. Mary's House, Oatlands Park, Surrey.*
Trench, W. P., *High Street, Guildford.*
Trinder, A., *The Hollies, Rydens Road, Walton-on-Thames.*
Trollope, Col. G. H., *Fairmile Hatch, Cobham.*
Trollope, Clifford, *Fairmile Hatch, Cobham.*
*Trotter, William, *King's Beeches, Ascot.*
Turner, Colonel F. Mansel, *Norton, Pitt Farm, Guildford.*
Turner, Frederic, *Esmond, Rusham Park Avenue, Egham.*
*Tyssen, Amhurst Daniel, D.C.L., *40, Chancery Lane, W.C.*

V.

Vaillant, Rev. Wilfrid B., *St. Cross, Weybridge.*
Vaughan-Williams, Mrs., *Leith Hill Place, Dorking.*
Vaux, Rev. G. B., M.A., *The Rectory, Carshalton.*
Venner, A. W., *7, Station Approach, Redhill.*
Verry, Miss Edith F., *Tralee, Holmbury St. Mary, Dorking.*
Vincent, Sir William, Bart., *D'Abernon Chase, Ashtead.*

W.

*Wagner, Henry, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., *13, Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, W.*
Walford Brothers, *6, New Oxford Street, W.C.*
Walker, E., F.S.A., *16, Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street, E.C.*
Walpole, Sir Charles S., *Broadford, Chobham, Woking.*
Walpole, Spencer C., *94, Piccadilly, W.*
Wandsworth Public Library, *West Hill, Wandsworth, S.W.*
Ward, J. S. M., *The Whym, Gomshall.*
Warne, G. F. Spencer, *Frolbury Manor, near Dorking.*
Waterer, Miss Charlotte E., *Dover House, Chertsey.*
Waterhouse, Edwin, *Feldemore, near Dorking.*
*Watney, Daniel, *33, Poultry, E.C.*
*Watney, Sir John, F.S.A., *Shermanbury House, Reigate.*
Webb, Percy H., *The Garden, Walton-on-Thames.*
Welman, S., Oakdene, *Holloway Hill, Godalming.*
Wells, W. H., *Morden House, Arthur Road, Wimbledon.*
Whately, T. Percival, *Holloway Hill, Godalming.*
Wheeler, J. F. W., *Oxted, Surrey.*
White, Gilbert H., *Guildford.*
White, Hetherington, *Hatch Field, West Horsley, Leatherhead.*
Whitley, H. Michell, *28, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.*
Wickham, George, *Stone Wall, Limpsfield, Surrey.*
Wigram, L., *The Rookery, Frensham.*
*Wilkin, Frederick, *Lower Coulsey Wood, Wadhurst, Sussex.*
Williamson, David, *Epsom Road, Guildford.*
*Wilson, Cornelius Lea, *The Cedars, Beckenham, Kent.*
Wimbledon Free Library, *S.W.*
*Winchester, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, D.D., *Farnham Castle.*
Wiseman, Rev. A. R., *Seale Rectory, Farnham, Surrey.*
Wollen, J. W. G., *Normanhurst, Edgeborough Road, Guildford.*
Wood, Arthur H., *Summer Farm, West Clandon, near Guildford.*
Wood, Rev. Robert, *Weyleas, Farncombe, Godalming.*
Woodroffe, Rev. Duncan, M.A., *Banstead Vicarage.*
Woods, Ernest, *Warren Wood, Bexley Heath, Kent.*
Woods, Percy, C.B., *Sevington, Epsom Road, Guildford.*
Worms, Baron de, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., *Milton Park, Egham.*
Wyatt-Smith, F., M.A., M.B., B.C., *Briarwood, Woking.*
Wylie, Mrs., *Ivynersh, Chertsey.*

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Jekyll, Miss Gertrude, *Munstead Wood, Godalming.*
Smith, Reginald Allender, B.A., F.S.A., *British Museum, W.C.*

SOCIETIES &c., IN UNION,

WHICH EXCHANGE PUBLICATIONS.

Architectural Societies, The Associated, of Northamptonshire, York, Lincoln, Bedford, &c.

Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.

Bruxelles, Société d'Archéologie de.

Buckinghamshire Architectural and Archæological Society.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archæological Society.

Chester Architectural, Archæological, &c., Society.

Cornwall, Royal Institution of.

Derbyshire Archæological Society.

East Hertfordshire Archæological Society.

East Riding (Yorks.) Antiquarian Society.

Essex Archæological Society.

Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society.

Hampshire Field Club.

Ireland, The Royal Society of Antiquaries of.

Kent Archæological Society.

Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society.

Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society.

London, The Society of Antiquaries of.

London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

Minnesota Historical Society, America.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, The Society of Antiquaries of.

New England Historic Genealogical Society.

Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.

Powys-Land Club.

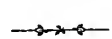
Royal Archæological Institute.

Royal Historical Society.

Royal Institute of British Architects.
St. Alban's Architectural and Archæological Society.
Saint-Malo, Société Historique et Archéologique de.
Scotland, The Society of Antiquaries of.
Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
Smithsonian Institution, America.
Société Jersiaise.
Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society.
Stockholm, Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Akadamien.
Suffolk Institute of Archæology.
Sussex Archæological Society.
Thoresby Society, Leeds.
Thoroton Society, Nottingham.
Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.
Worcester Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society.
Worcester Society of Antiquity, America.
Yorkshire Archæological Society.

Public Record Office Library

LIBRARIES.



The British Museum.

The Bodleian, Oxford.

Cambridge University.

Dublin University.

Edinburgh University.

RULES.

I.—The Society shall be called The Surrey Archæological Society.

II.—The objects of this Society shall be—

1. To collect and publish the best information on the Ancient Arts and Monuments of the County; including Primeval Antiquities; Architecture, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military; Sculpture; Paintings on Walls, Wood, or Glass; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges, and Customs; Heraldry and Genealogy; Costume, Numismatics; Ecclesiastical History and Endowments, and Charitable Foundations, Records, &c.; and all other matters comprised under the head of Archæology.

2. To procure careful observations and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of works, such as Railways, Foundations of Buildings, &c.

3. To encourage individuals or public bodies in making researches and excavations, and afford them suggestions and co-operation.

4. To oppose and prevent, as far as may be practicable, any injuries with which Monuments of every description may, from time to time, be threatened; and to collect accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions thereof.

III.—The subjects of all communications received, together with the names of the authors, shall be registered in a book kept for the purpose by the Honorary Secretary, which book shall be open to the inspection of the Members of the Society.

IV.—The Society shall consist of Members and Honorary Members.

V.—Each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of Ten Shillings, to be due on the 1st of January in each year, in advance,

and an Entrance Fee of Ten Shillings, or £8* in lieu thereof, as a composition for life.

VI.—All payments to be made to the Treasurer, to the account of the Society, at such Banking-house in the Metropolis as the Society may direct; and no cheque shall be drawn except by order of the Council; and every cheque shall be signed by two Members thereof and the Honorary Secretary.

VII.—The Subscriptions of Members shall entitle them to one copy of all publications issued by direction of the Council during their Membership; and no publication shall be issued to Members whose Subscriptions are in arrear. Members whose subscriptions are upwards of three years in arrear, shall, after due notice, be removed from the List of Members.†

VIII.—Every person desirous of being admitted a Member must be proposed agreeably to the form annexed to these Rules:‡ and this form must be subscribed by him and by a Member of the Society, and addressed to the Honorary Secretary, to be submitted to the Council, who will ballot for his election,—one black ball in five to exclude.

IX.—Ladies desirous of becoming Members will be expected to conform to Rule VIII, so far as relates to their nomination, but will be admitted without ballot.

X.—Persons eminent for their works or scientific acquirements shall be eligible to be associated to the Society as Honorary Members, and be elected at a General Meeting; and no person shall be nominated to this class without the sanction of the Council.

XI.—The Lord-Lieutenant of the County, all Members of the House of Peers residing in, or who are Landed Proprietors in the County; also all Members of the House of Commons representing the County or its Boroughs; the High Sheriff of the County for the time being, and such other persons as the Council may determine, shall be invited to become Vice-Presidents, if Members of the Society.

XII.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council of Management, to consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, an Honorary Secretary, and Twenty-four Members, eight of whom shall

* The Life Composition was raised from £5 : 10*s.* to £8 by resolution passed at a Special General Meeting, 24th March, 1897.

† Resolution passed at the General Meeting, 25th February, 1885.

‡ Copies of the form may be had from the Honorary Secretaries.

go out annually, by rotation, but be eligible for re-election. Three Members of the Council (exclusive of the Honorary Secretary) shall form a quorum.

XIII.—An Annual General Meeting shall be held in the month of March or April,* at such time and places as the Council shall appoint, to receive and consider the Report of the Council on the state of the Society, and to elect the Officers for the ensuing twelve months.

XIV.—There shall be also such other General Meetings in each year for the reading of papers and other business, to be held at such times and places as the Council may direct.

XV.—The Council may at any time call a Special General Meeting, and they shall at all times be bound to do so on the written requisition of Ten Members, specifying the nature of the business to be transacted. Notice of the time and place of such Meeting shall be sent to the Members at least fourteen days previously, mentioning the subject to be brought forward; and no other subject shall be discussed at such Meeting.

XVI.—The Council shall meet for the transaction of business connected with the management of the Society once at least in every month; that is to say, on the second Thursday in each month, or on such other days as the Council shall from time to time direct.†

XVII.—At every Meeting of the Society, or of the Council, the resolutions of the majority present shall be binding, and at such Meetings the Chairman shall have a casting vote, independently of his vote as a Member of the Society or of the Council, as the case may be.

XVIII.—The Council shall be empowered to appoint Local Secretaries in such places in the County as may appear desirable.

XIX.—Honorary Members and Local Secretaries shall have all the privileges of Members except that of voting.

XX.—The whole effects and property of the Society shall be under the control and management of the Council, who shall be at liberty to purchase books, casts, or other articles, or to exchange or dispose of duplicates thereof.

XXI.—The Council shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings as may be deemed worthy of being printed, together

* Altered from "June or July" to "January or February" at a Special General Meeting, held 23rd June, 1884. Again altered at a Special General Meeting, held 25th March, 1905.

† Under a resolution of the Council, these Meetings now take place on the third Wednesday in each month.

with a Report of the Proceedings of the Society, to be issued in the form of an Annual Volume.

XXII.—The sum of five pounds out of the composition of each Life Member, and so much of the surplus of the income as the Council may direct (after providing for the current expenses, printing the Annual Volume, &c.), shall be invested in Government Securities,* as the Council may deem most expedient; the interest only to be available for the current disbursements; and no portion shall be withdrawn without the sanction of a General Meeting.

XXIII.—Two Members shall be annually appointed to audit the accounts of the Society, and to report thereon at the Annual General Meeting.

XXIV.—No religious or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society, nor topics of a similar nature admitted in the Society's publications.

XXV.—No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society except at a Special General Meeting.

* The Amount invested is, at present, £316 : 4*s.* 8*d.*, 2½ per cent. Consols.

BY-LAWS

ORDERED BY THE COUNCIL

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LIBRARY.

February 15th, 1899.

1.—The Library shall be open for the use of Members daily, with the exception of Sundays and the usual general holidays.

2.—Members whose Annual Subscriptions shall not be more than three months in arrear may borrow out of the Library any number of printed volumes not exceeding three, and may exchange any such volumes as often as they please, provided they do not have more than three volumes in their possession at any one time.

3.—Every application for the loan of books shall be made in writing to the Librarian at the Castle Arch, who will leave the volumes at the Library to be called for by the borrower or by some person authorized by him in writing.

4.—A Library Delivery Book shall be kept, in which shall be entered the title of every book borrowed, the name of the borrower, and the time of borrowing. Members shall give a signed receipt for each book borrowed, which receipt shall be placed in the Delivery Book, and cancelled on the return of the said book.

5.—No book lent out of the Library shall be retained for a longer period than two months.

6.—Members borrowing any book from the Library shall be responsible to the Society for its safety and good condition from the time of its leaving the Library to its return ; and in the case of loss or damage, he shall replace the same or make it good.

7.—Persons not being Members of the Society may be admitted to the Library to consult printed books, on the introduction in

writing of a Member, who shall be responsible for the care and safety of any books so consulted by the person he introduces.

8.—Every book taken from the shelves by a Member or person introduced by a Member, must be returned to the place from which it was removed.

9.—Persons not being Members of the Society may on occasion be allowed to borrow books of the Society, but only with the special permission of the Council.

10.—Folios, and such other volumes as the Council shall from time to time decide, may not be removed from the premises of the Society.

M. S. GIUSEPPI, F.S.A.,
C. H. JENKINSON, B.A., F.S.A., } *Hon. Secs.*

[*Copies of this Form may be obtained from the Honorary Secretaries.*]

SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

PROPOSAL FORM.

Full Name and Postal Address of Member proposed:—

_____

_____

_____

Say whether LIFE *or* ANNUAL _____

Proposer's Name _____

Date _____

To

The Honorary Secretaries of

THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Subscription is Ten Shillings annually, with an Entrance Fee of Ten Shillings; or one payment of Eight Pounds constitutes a Life Member.

All persons desirous of joining the Society, or of advancing its objects, are requested to communicate with the Honorary Secretaries, at the Castle Arch, Guildford.

Donations of Books, Drawings, Prints, and Antiquities to the Library and Museum of the Society, will be thankfully received and acknowledged.

The Library and Museum are at the Castle Arch, Guildford. Books can be consulted for reference on application to the Librarian.

M. S. GIUSEPPI, F.S.A.,
C. H. JENKINSON, B.A., F.S.A., } HON. SECS.

COUNCIL ROOM AND LIBRARY,
CASTLE ARCH, GUILDFORD.

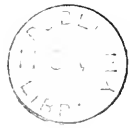
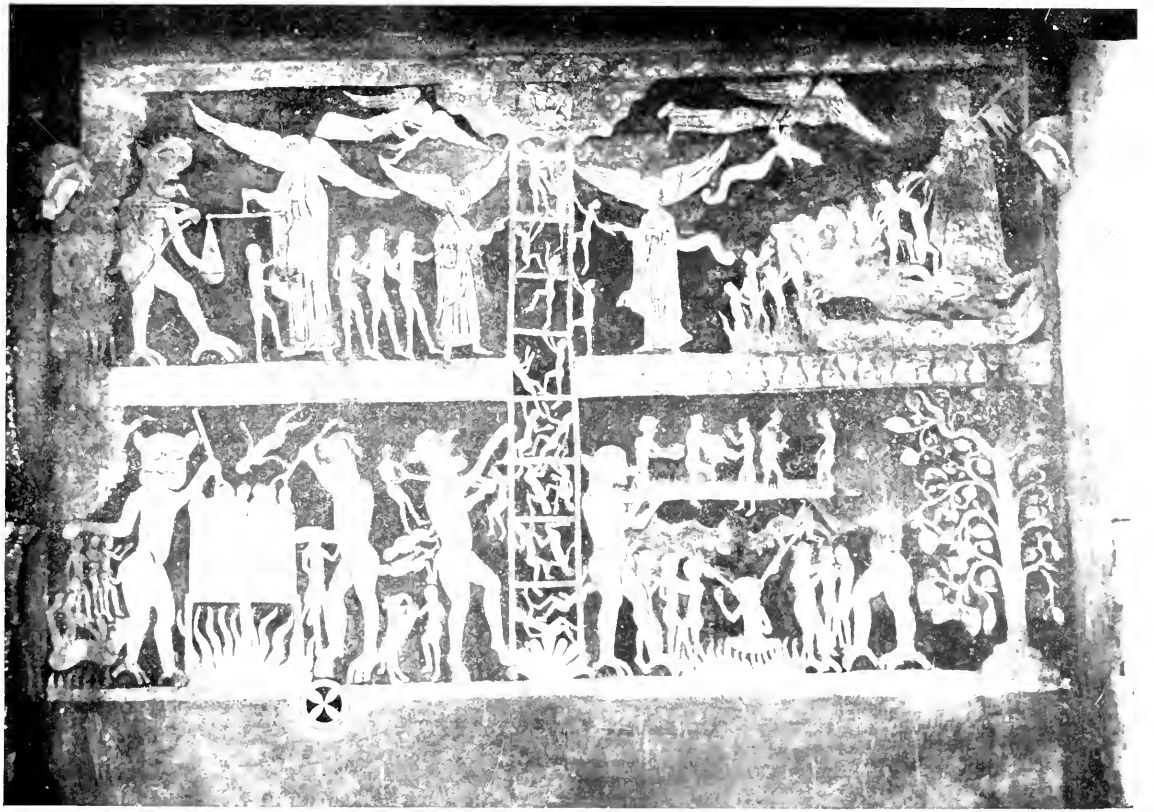


PLATE I.



G. C. Druce, *Photo.*

CHALDON CHURCH, WALL PAINTING.

face 1

Surrey Collections.

SOME MINOR FEATURES OF THE CHALDON PAINTING.

BY

GEORGE C. DRUCE.

SINCE the discovery of the great painting at Chaldon Church forty years ago, and the paper written upon it by Mr. J. G. Waller,[1] very little has appeared in our *Collections* on the subject. Mr. Waller's account was so full and informing that it may be still said to hold the field, and anything that I now offer must be regarded as merely supplementary.

As is well known, the scheme of the painting comprises six main subjects. In the centre we have the Ladder of Salvation crowded with souls, with a half-figure of Christ in a medallion at the top. In the two upper compartments are the scenes of the Harrowing of Hell and the Weighing of Souls; and in the two lower the Tree of Knowledge on the right, the Bridge of Spikes, and Hell Torments. There are also a number of minor but interesting episodes, about which Mr. Waller has a good deal to say.

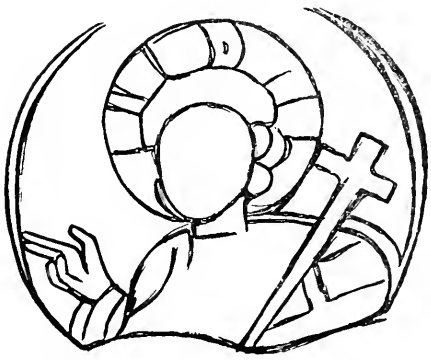
In his paper he discusses to some extent the difficult question of origins, more particularly in the cases of the Weighing of Souls and the Bridge of Spikes. It was obviously impossible for him to deal with this phase

[1] *S. A. C.*, V, 275—306.

of the subject comprehensively, but the consideration which he gives may be extended to other features of the painting.

The connexion between Christian art and Pagan art, both secular and religious, is to be traced in many ways. In the paintings and sculptures of the catacombs at Rome we have many interesting links, as in such subjects as the Good Shepherd, the ascent of Elijah, and Jonah's Fish; and the connexion is further reflected in our 12th-century figure carvings and later woodwork. The early and mediæval Christian artists did not invent forms out of their imaginations so much as borrow from existing models, modifying them as required to suit their own views.

The details of the painting that I propose to consider, are the figure of Our Lord at the top of the ladder, the Angels, and the Demons in the Hell-cauldron scene. The title of the painting, "The Ladder of Salvation of the Human Soul," differentiates it from the usual Scenes of the Last Judgment, such as we see upon the 13th-century tympana at Amiens and Bourges, and in later paintings, and the figure of the Saviour is totally different. At the two places mentioned He appears as the Judge, with arms outstretched and all fingers extended, dividing the saved from the lost souls, or with two swords. At Chaldon, Christ is in Paradise ready to receive the saved souls on the upper part of the ladder, and His appearance would seem to correspond more with the attitude seen in the sculptures of "Christ in Glory" on the Norman tympana. His figure is contained in a circular medallion. He has a nimbus with indications of a cross upon it, His right hand



MEDALLION, CHALDON PAINTING.

is raised in the attitude of benediction, and His left bears a cross, although the hand is not actually visible. On either side of Him are the sun and moon, the whole being placed on a field with a wavy border representing the heavens. The details do not show well on my photograph (Pl. I), being necessarily small; I have therefore made a drawing of the medallion through field-glasses. The attitude of Christ's right hand is known as the Latin Benediction, the thumb and first two fingers being raised, the other two closed. I cannot help thinking that the awkward position of the bent fingers, as shown on my sketch, is partly due to touching up at the time of the restoration of the painting. This attitude is universal in the Western Church, as opposed to the Greek Benediction in the Eastern. A description of the latter is given in the Greek Painters' Guide from Mount Athos, thus: "When you represent the hand in blessing, do not join the three fingers together; but cross the thumb by the fourth finger, so that the second, named the Index, remaining upright, and the third being slightly bent, they may both form the name of Jesus (Ιησους) I C. Indeed, the second, remaining open, indicates an I (iôta); and the third, when curved, forms a C (sigma). The thumb is placed across the fourth finger; the fifth is also a little bent, so as to indicate the word (Χριστος) X C; for the junction of the thumb and the fourth finger forms a X (chi), and the little finger, by its curvature, forms a C (sigma). These two letters are the abridgement of *Christos*. So, by the divine providence of the Creator, the fingers of a man's hand, whether they be long or short, are so placed that it is possible for them to figure the name of Christ." [1] I cannot call to mind any example of the Greek Benediction in our churches, though I should have thought, from the influence of Byzantine art in our paintings and sculptures, a limited number might have crept in.

[1] *Didron's Christian Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 395. Note that the counting of the fingers commences at the thumb.

Durandus says that the Latin Benediction symbolises the Trinity, the three open fingers signifying the three divine persons, and the two closed fingers the two natures of Christ, human and divine;[1] but Didron considers that Durandus' symbolic interpretations are often exaggerated.

For the purpose of tracing the origin of the Latin Benediction and some of the other details which I have to consider, we must go back to the art of the early Christians in the catacombs at Rome, and study the sculptured sarcophagi which are preserved in the Lateran Christian Museum. They throw considerable light upon what is now always termed the "attitude of Benediction." We shall find that it was not originally a "blessing": it was rather a gesture of address, which came in course of time to have a wider significance.

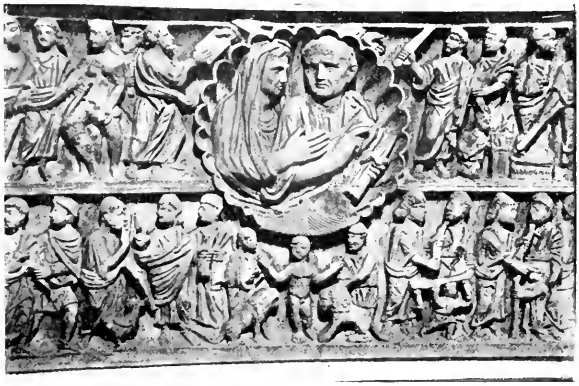
In my illustration of part of a sculptured sarcophagus of the 4th century (Pl. II (1)), are shown the Sacrifice of Isaac and three miracles, viz.: the Healing of the Blind and of the Paralytic, and the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes. In the healing of the blind, Christ places the first two fingers of His right hand, which are extended upon the eyes of the blind man, who is shown as a diminutive figure, the other two fingers remaining closed. In the case of the paralytic, He is touching the top of the bed in the same manner, and holds a roll of writing in His left. In the miracle of the loaves, His hands are laid upon the loaves and fishes. He uses this gesture of the hand in other scenes on the sarcophagi, such as Healing the woman with the issue and the Denial of Peter; but in the Miracle of Cana, the Raising of Lazarus, and the restoring of the dead boy, He uses a rod.[2] It is manifest that there is no act of blessing here; the attitude of the fingers is clearly one accompanying the exercise of the

[1] *Rat. Div.*: *Off.* Lib. V, cap. ii.

[2] Lowrie, in his *Christian Art and Archæology* (p. 213), treats both these as the Raising of Lazarus, but the arrangement of the figures to my mind does not lend itself to this view.

(1) Sarcophagus, 4th Century. Sacrifice of Isaac and Miracles.

(2) Sarcophagus Lid. Panels with Genii.



(3) Sarcophagus with Portraits.

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divine power. The roll which Christ holds in his left hand represents the Book of the New Law.

This gesture of the hand and the roll are alike a constant feature on the sarcophagi, and the latter themselves afford proof of the secular origin of both. It was the custom to include a medallion or panel on the front of the body or lid, on which either a portrait of the deceased, a symbolic device, or an inscription, was placed. The panel was either square, circular, or key-ended, as upon the lid of a sarcophagus shown in Pl. II (2); or of an ornamental character, taking the form of drapery sustained by winged genii, as upon the same lid; or of a shell as illustrated in Pl. II (3); or is occasionally only a space separated off by details of the sculpture, such as palm trees.[1] The shell contains portraits of a senator, or pleader in the Courts, and his wife, pleasingly arranged; the wife has her left hand passed round her husband's neck, while her right rests upon his breast. He wears the toga and holds a roll in his left hand, towards which his right hand is directed. The first two fingers are extended, the other two being closed. This is the attitude of a man delivering an oration, and the position of his fingers is a conventional gesture of address of the Roman orator. Similarly, the portrait with the drapery behind on the sarcophagus lid has the fingers in the same position.

There are a good number of references to these gestures in classical writers, but Quintilian is the principal source of information. In his *Institutes of Oratory*, Book XI, ch. iii, 92, etc., he goes minutely into the different movements of the hands. They are very difficult to follow, and I can only say that to perform them all adequately would be a feat of gymnastics. I give some short extracts: "But with regard to the hand, that gesture is most common in which the middle finger is drawn in towards the thumb, the other three fingers being open; it is

[1] For other examples, *vide* Lowrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 256, 260, 261.

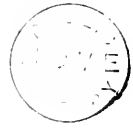
suitable for exordia, moderately exerted and with a gentle movement of the hand in either direction, while the head and shoulders bend almost imperceptibly towards that quarter to which the hand is stretched . . . . ." And again: "Sometimes we hold the two first fingers apart, without, however, inserting the thumb between them, but with the two lower fingers slightly curved inwards and the two upper ones not quite straightened"[1]; and there is a great deal more in this style. In the same chapter the different modes of wearing the toga in debate are also fully gone into.

Although I have been carefully through the text, I confess I am unable to find an exact correspondence between any of the gestures described and the one we are considering. The only allusion to it I have come across in any modern book, is in Lowrie's *Christian Art and Archæology* (p. 260), where, in reference to a certain sculpture on a sarcophagus, he says:—

"Christ's gesture in this scene is that which is commonly called the Roman Benediction, with the fourth and little finger closed, and the others open. The position of the fingers is the same in the act of creation and in the healing of the blind. But in this instance we see it is not a gesture of blessing, but simply the accompaniment of His address. We learn in fact from Christian and Pagan monuments, that this was the commonest gesture in oratory, and it was therefore quite naturally, though only incidentally, used in the address of benediction. Many of the ancient pictures of Christ—particularly in the mosaics—have been taken to represent Him in the act of benediction when they really denote simply the gesture of address. The so-called Greek Benediction, in which the thumb and third finger are crossed in the palm and the other three fingers open, was likewise a common gesture in oratory, and it was only in the course of the Middle Ages that it became distinctive of the Eastern Church and confined to the act of benediction."

It is possible that among the Pagan Romans this gesture may have been employed to indicate a blessing, but I have been unable to find any allusion to it as such in classical writers; also I am unable to indicate the date when it first acquired the significance of a blessing among the Christians.

[1] Bohn's trans.



Ivory Gospel Cover, 5th or 6th Century.

In Northcote and Brownlow's *Roma Sotterranea* there is an illustration of a fresco in the Catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, where Christ appears in the centre with His right hand raised as if in benediction, and in His left an open book. He has a nimbus. The open book, with its writing, is a prominent feature. I should regard the gesture here as one of declamation rather than blessing, especially when compared with others of the same kind where the arm is stretched forward rather than raised. This is not earlier than the 5th century, and I doubt if any examples of the gesture of benediction, as such, of so early a date are forthcoming.

The ivory book covers provide us with interesting examples. Pl. III shows a Gospel cover in the Bib. Nat., Paris, of which there is a cast at South Kensington. It is probably of the 6th century, or possibly the 5th. The subjects on the four small panels and at the bottom correspond with the Miracles on the sarcophagi, but betray deterioration. The most noticeable features are that the rod in Christ's hand has become a cross, and that He has no nimbus. The gesture of the hand is the same, the two first fingers being extended. In the centre panel Christ's attitude is generally one of declamation, the gesture of the hand being that of address, and not of blessing. It will be noticed that of the two figures behind His chair, one uses the same gesture, while the other has his hand raised as if in astonishment; this appears again very clearly in the Raising of Lazarus below.

The gesture, however, having once acquired the significance of a blessing, seems to have ever after been called "the attitude of benediction"; in short, the conventional form has created a conventional phrase. It is found in our 12th-century sculptures, in such scenes as:—

1. *The Baptism of Christ.* The hand of the First Person of the Trinity and the hand of the Baptist alike are in this form, as upon the font at Castle Froome (Hereford) (Pl. IV (1)); the hand of the First Person

on the font at Lenton (Notts.)[1]; and the hand of the Baptist on the font at West Haddon (Northants.), if the figure holding the book represents him there;[2] the hand of Christ in the same scene on the font at Brighton, and in—

2. *The Entry into Jerusalem*, on the font at West Haddon.[2]

3. *Miracles;* as in the two scenes of the Raising of Lazarus on the Lenton font (Pl. IV (2)).[3]

4.—*The Last Supper*, on the fonts at Brighton (Pl. IV (3)), and North Grimston (Yorks.),[4] and on tympana in such scenes as—

5.—*The Virgin and Child*, at Fownhope (Hereford); and

6.—*Christ in Glory*, at Barfrestone (Kent), Ely Cathedral,[5] Rowlstone (Hereford), (Pl. V (1)), and Essendine (Rutland).[6]

There are also many examples of the hands of apostles and ecclesiastics in this position, as on the lead font at Walton-on-the-Hill (Surrey),[7] and elsewhere.

It is clear that the gesture cannot be equally interpreted as a "benediction" in all these cases, though it is no doubt difficult sometimes to draw the line. In the case of the First Person on the Castle Froome font, it would seem to be both a gesture of address and a benediction, accompanying the divine voice from the cloud, and the words "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." In the case of the Baptist, whose fingers touch Christ's head, it is a gesture accompanying the act of Baptism. The Baptist is here

[1] Illustrated in Allen's *Christian Symbolism*, p. 289.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 294, also illustrated in F. Bond's *Fonts and Font Covers*, p. 158.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 298.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 303.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 262.
[6] *Ibid.*, 263.
[7] *Vide* article on this font by the late J. L. André, in *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, IX, 157—160.

G. G. Buckley, *Photo.*

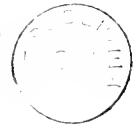
(1) Castle Froome: Baptism of Christ.

E. L. Guilford, *Photo.*

(2) Lenton: Christ Addressing Martha and Disciples.

G. C. Druce, *Photo.*

(3) Brighton: Last Supper.



the agent of the divine will, and the position of the fingers recalls the sarcophagi closely. This sculpture may be conveniently compared with an interesting miniature of the Baptism in a 12th-century MS. in the British Museum (Nero, C. IV). Christ there stands naked in the water, which is heaped up. On the left the Baptist, in a dark hairy raiment, performs his office with the first two fingers extended; and on the right is an angel holding a rich tunic. Many fish and shells are in the water. Where Christ himself is shown in this attitude when being baptized, it must be due solely to conventional treatment, as He is not recorded to have made any speech on the occasion.

In the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem at West Haddon, the action is also capable of two interpretations, *i.e.*, of address and of benediction; the first, in view of the speech made by Our Lord, recorded in *Luke* xix, 40, where, at the request of the Pharisees that he should rebuke his disciples, he said: "I tell you that, if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out"; and secondly, as a general blessing given to the assembled multitude. This subject occurs also in the MS. Nero, C. IV, where the first two fingers of Christ's hand are similarly extended.

In the kindred subject of Christ's Entry into Jericho (*Luke* xix, 1), with Zaccheus in the tree, which occurs on the sarcophagus with the shell, the fingers of His right hand are in the attitude of address, while the left holds the reins.

The two scenes of the Raising of Lazarus on the font at Lenton are very instructive. They are both on the west side. The first (Pl. IV (2)), shows Christ addressing Martha and the disciples on the subject of the Resurrection. His right hand is raised with the two first fingers extended. From the composition of the picture and the recorded account, this cannot well be more than a gesture of address. Christ is literally addressing them. In the second scene He performs the miracle. The sculpture shows attendants removing the stone. And, here His figure testifies to the strength of conventionality,

for He is holding a book in His left. I should regard the gesture here as associated with the exercise of divine power, as upon the sarcophagi, the book taking the place of the roll.

In MS. Nero, C. IV, there is a fine miniature of this subject, with many figures. Christ holds a scroll, on which are the words TOLLITE LAPIDEM, in His right hand, which has only the forefinger raised, but this gesture I deal with later on.

In the scenes of the Last Supper, the gesture presumably accompanies the act of consecration (*Matt.* xxvi, 26; *Mark* xiv, 22), as at Brighton (Pl. IV (3)), and can hardly be taken as a general benediction.

On the other hand, in the scenes of the Virgin and Child and Christ in Glory on the tympana, the gesture would, I presume, be held to be a benediction. My illustration (Pl. V (1)) from Rowlstone (Hereford), shows a good example of the latter.

In the case of Apostles and Ecclesiastics the gesture may also be that of benediction, but it is quite possible to regard the attitude of many of these figures as that of address—*i.e.*, literally addressing a congregation of people.

I am not desirous of pushing this argument too far, but I think there is sufficient in it to make one wish to get behind the veil of conventionality of treatment, and see how the original practice arose. It may be that in course of time our views will be modified about the gesture, even in such a scene as that of Christ in Glory.

Similarly, we may trace the book in Christ's hand back to the "volumen" or roll in his hand upon the sarcophagi, and in the hands of the senators in the shell and panels. This was the parchment in common use for writing on, often composed of many pieces and rolled on a stick. The younger Pliny, in one of his "Letters" enumerating his uncle's works, speaks of "'Studiosi tres' in sex volumina propter amplitudinem divisi, quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit et perfecit."

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G. G. Buckley, *Photo.*

(1) Rowlstone: Christ in Glory.

(2) Ravenna, St. Vitale: Angels.

G. C. Druce, *Photo.*

(3) Brighton: St. Nicholas and Pilgrims.

face 11.

Although the figure in the medallion at Chaldon, no doubt, represents "Christ in Glory," there is no book. He holds a cross, the Cross of the Resurrection. This sometimes occurs instead of, sometimes in conjunction with, the book, as at Ely Cathedral.

There are five figures of angels in the Chaldon painting, viz.: St. Michael Weighing Souls, two helping souls on the upper part of the ladder, and two flying above. The first three are very much alike, rather stiff and stately forms that seem to have Byzantine influence about them, and resembling the angels on the mosaics at St. Vitale, Ravenna. The two illustrated (Pl. V (2)), appear in the apse, together with St. Vitalis and bishop Ecclesius, and are clothed in long-sleeved tunics with the CLAVI ANGUSTI—*i. e.*, the stripes of the equestrian order at Rome—and the pallium over, showing the adoption of secular garments. The angels at Chaldon are clothed in long robes, sleeved tunics, and mantles. The Western mode of representing such angels was simply as men with wings, as at St. Vitale. Angels are frequently mentioned as "men" in the Bible, and we do not read of their having wings in the Old Testament. The descriptions of flying seraphim in *Isaiah* vi, 2, 6, and of cherubim in *Ezekiel* x, 5, &c., do not apply to ordinary angels.[1] Lactantius, in his *Divine Institutions*, distinctly intimates that they are male (Bk. II, ch. 15).

The flying angels also have their counterpart in early Christian art in the winged genii on the sarcophagi, in the angels supporting medallions at St. Vitale and elsewhere, and on the early ivory book-covers.[2] There was no lack of models for them in classical art: Mercury and Iris were ready to hand, the messengers of the gods,

[1] *Vide* two articles on the cherubim and seraphim, in the *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, by Dr. A. Smythe Palmer, February, 1901, and October, 1909.

[2] *Vide* illustration, in Lowrie's *Christian Art and Archæology* (p. 288), of the Ivory Gospel cover of the 7th century from Murano (now at Ravenna), where the cross appears within a wreath, held by two flying angels.

presenting an association of idea with that of form; also winged Victories by the score, the Winds, and others. Iris appears on vases as a lovely winged being, clothed in a girdled tunic, floating through the air.

It will be noticed that the Angel on the left side of the ladder at Chaldon is pointing with his forefinger, as if showing the way. There are a large number of instances of this feature both in early and mediæval Christian art. Upon one of the sarcophagi a seated figure appears, with two men in front, one of whom carries a lamb. This subject is considered to be Cain and Abel with their offerings and the seated figure the First Person of the Trinity. He points to the man with the lamb and is evidently speaking to him. On another, where Christ is brought before Caiaphas, an attendant has his forefinger raised pointing to Him, but Caiaphas has two fingers raised. On the same sarcophagus, in the scene of the restoration of the dead boy (or Lazarus), a disciple and a woman each have the forefinger raised. They seem to be speaking to each other. Upon a sarcophagus, illustrated in Bosio's *Roma Sottarranea*, p. 87, the maidservant raises two fingers when addressing Peter, but he points to his own face with his forefinger only. There are several instances of this. If we turn to the MS. before mentioned (Nero, C. IV) and look through the miniatures, we find a very large number of instances; viz.: the Deity holds up the forefinger when telling Adam and Eve not to touch the fruit of the tree; when telling Noah to build the ark, and Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. Angels also in many scenes, *i.e.*, when giving the spade to Adam; when appearing to the Shepherds, and to the Magi and Joseph when asleep, and at the Resurrection. Gabriel also uses the same gesture when addressing the Virgin; Noah when receiving the dove; Abel with his lamb; Saul, David and attendants in various scenes; both Elizabeth and the Virgin in the Salutation scene; the Magi several times; Herod on the occasion of the Slaughter of the Innocents; Christ and the apostles in various scenes; spectators of the Entry into Jerusalem; Judas at the Last Supper; Pilate, etc.

There is, however, no fixed rule, for upon an ivory diptych (German or North French) in the Mediæval Room at the British Museum (Case F), the Angel appearing to the Shepherds has two fingers extended, and in the Baptism scene the Baptist has all four fingers extended on Christ's head, and the hand of the First Person in the cloud is the same. This occurs in other cases.

For representations of this feature in mural paintings, I would refer to the paper on "Hardham Church and its Early Paintings," by Mr. P. M. Johnston, F.S.A., in *Sussex Archæological Collections*, Vol. XLIV, where there are beautiful reproductions of his tracings. Gabriel points with the forefinger when addressing the Virgin, and Adam and Eve each point to the Dragon. And on another plate (p. 91), the Angel points to Joseph and the Magi when asleep. In sculpture it appears in the legendary scene of St. Nicholas and the Pilgrims, on the 12th-century font at Brighton (Pl. V (3)). St. Nicholas points with his finger towards the vase of burning oil when directing the man to throw it overboard.

In so many instances and in such different circumstances it is perhaps difficult to draw a too decided deduction, but the gesture seems to indicate emphasis given to some important action. Mr. Johnston takes this view. He says (p. 86), "On the left is the Archangel Gabriel, the forefinger of his right hand emphasising the message he is delivering to the Blessed Virgin."

This gesture, like the Benediction, was a continuation of a Pagan custom, and we can ascertain in a similar manner from Quintilian what its purport was: In Book XI, c. iii, par. 94, of his *Institutes of Oratory*, he says, "But when three fingers are compressed under the thumb, the finger which Cicero says that Crassus used with such excellent effect is then fully extended. This finger has great effect in invective and demonstration, whence it has its name (*index digitus*), and being a little brought down, after the hand has been raised towards the shoulder, it affirms."

Evidently, then, the extended forefinger in Christian art means something more than pointing to an object. It is intended to demonstrate the importance of the object in view, and the action of the Angel at Chaldon is doubtless intended to indicate the importance of the undertaking before the Souls mounting, or about to mount, the ladder.

The circular medallion can probably be accounted for in a similar way. Didron calls the compartment in which a figure of Christ, or the Virgin and Child, occurs a "nimbus of the body" as opposed to that of the head, and terms them when combined an "aureole" or "glory." He says, "There can be no doubt that the nature of the nimbus and of the aureole is the same; or that the element constituting both is fire or flame" (Vol. I, p. 131), and points out the great antiquity of this idea. The idea of the aureole or rays must, however, have been applied to forms already existing in early Christian art, and which came from other sources. Medallions with portraits of Christ and the apostles may be seen upon the Brescia ivory box of the 5th or 6th century,[1] and Didron illustrates (Vol. I, p. 186) a figure of Jehovah as the God of Battles from an Italian psalter of the end of the 12th century. He says (Vol. I, p. 118), "It is a half-length figure of God in relief, and within a circle like a buckler, resembling in every point those figures on bucklers which are constantly seen on Roman sarcophagi."[2] On the Christian sarcophagi we have the square or circular panels bearing the inscription, device, or portrait. Whether these ornamental frames are really an adaptation of the Roman "clipeus" or buckler, as Didron suggests, does not seem to be conclusively established, but it was undoubtedly the custom for the

[1] *Vide* Allen, p. 58. Illustrated in Lowrie, p. 282, who says it is attributed to the 4th century.

[2] *Vide* portrait in a circular medallion on a Roman sarcophagus found near Tower Hill in 1853, and now in the Roman gallery at the British Museum. These medallions are in the nature of framed panels with the portraits in relief. The curious double lines forming the border of the medallion at Chaldon, seem to suggest that the artist wished to carry out this idea.

Romans to hang up "clipei" as medallion portraits of gods or distinguished men on the walls of temples and houses, as we learn from various sources. Pliny says, in his *Natural History* (Book XXXV, c. 3, 4): "So far as I can learn, Appius Claudius, who was consul with P. Servilius in the year of the City 259, was the first to dedicate shields in honour of his own family in a sacred or public place. For he placed representations of his ancestors in the Temple of Bellona, and desired that they might be erected in an elevated spot, so as to be seen, and the inscriptions reciting their honours read." And again, "More recently, M. Emilius, who was consul with Quintus Lutatius, not only erected these shields in the Æmilian Basilica, but in his own house as well; in doing which he followed a truly warlike example. For, in fact, these portraits were represented on bucklers, similar to those used in the Trojan war; and hence it is that these shields received their present name of 'clypei,' and not, as the perverse subtleties of the grammarians will have it, from the word 'cluo.'" There are also other references in Livy and Suetonius.

That the buckler idea was recognised in the Middle Ages and had a symbolic association, at least with the nimbus, is shown by an extract from the *Hortus Deliciarum*, quoted by Didron (Vol. I, p. 284):— "Light painted in the form of a circle round the head signifies that the saints invested with it are crowned with eternal light and radiance. For this reason, that it has the form of a round buckler, the saints being shielded by the Divine protection, as by a buckler (scutum)[1]: hence it happens, that they themselves sing: 'Lord, defend us with the buckler of Thy will.'"

On the development of these forms in Christian Art, the late Mr. Romilly Allen's remarks are worth quoting. In his *Early Christian Symbolism* (p. 49) he says: "The development of the 12th century type of Christ in Glory, enclosed within a vesica, supported by two or four angels,

[1] The scutum was not the same shape as the clipeus.

may be traced back to the disc enclosing the cross and held by a pair of angels, on the mosaic at St. Vitalis at Ravenna, of the 6th century, which resembles so closely the carvings on the great ivory book-covers at Ravenna, in the Vatican, and in the South Kensington Museum, and also the diptych of Rambona, in the Vatican" (*vide* Pl. V (2)). And on p. 174: "Probably one of the earliest instances of the aureole round the figure of the Saviour is to be found in the miniature of the Ascension, in the Syriac Gospels of Rabula (A.D. 586), in the Medicean Library at Florence. The aureole may possibly have been developed out of the rectangular and circular frames enclosing a cross or bust of Christ, supported by angels at each side, which occur upon the sculptured sarcophagi at Rome and elsewhere."[1] It would be interesting to know if this early example of the Ascension has actual rays.

This design became very popular in our church carvings of the 17th century, and a good example may be seen on a bench end at Dartmouth. It corresponds very closely with the design on the Gospel book-cover (Pl. III), the date 1630 replacing the cross. The Norman tympana show considerable variety. At Aston (Hereford) the Agnus Dei appears in an ornamental circle, with two winged beasts as supporters, one an ox holding a (?) book, the other a griffin-like animal, which are no doubt meant for the evangelistic symbols of St. Luke and St. John, the latter being made so for reasons of symmetry; at Barfrestone, the angels holding the aureole are very small.

Whichever way we may regard it, it seems almost certain that the compartments, whether oval, circular, or otherwise shaped, enclosing Christ in Glory on our Norman tympana can be traced to classical sources, but it seems to be doubtful whether they should all be regarded as "aureoles" in the true sense of symbolising rays. When the symbolic meaning came to

[1] For illustrations of sarcophagi with angels (genii) holding up the medallion, *vide* Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 91, and Lowrie, pp. 250, 256.

be applied is uncertain. It probably followed soon after that of the nimbus. The latter is not, however, in the same position, for it is applied to the head only, and does not form part of the design, as the "aureole" does upon a tympanum. Some of the latter may be only ornamental frames or borders, and a decision can only be come to on the merits of each.

The angels and demons play an important part in the Chaldon painting. The early Christians took their ideas of such beings from the Old Testament and the Jews, who in turn got them from the Babylonians; but the interesting question arises as to how far they were tinctured by the current ideas of the Romans about "spirits," and whether this affected their representation in Christian Art. The influence of "spirits" must have been a powerful one among the Jews, judging by the numerous references in the New Testament to persons possessed by "devils." Everything, too, among the Romans was supposed to be possessed by an indwelling spirit or "genius." Servus Maurus Honoratus, a grammarian who flourished *c.* A.D. 412, says, "The ancients called the nature god of every single place, or thing, or man, by the name of 'genius.'" The genius of wine appears everywhere in Classical Art as a winged cherub, and upon a sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum we find winged cherubs sculptured, gathering the vintage in company with three figures of the Good Shepherd. This sarcophagus is rather earlier than most of the other Christian sarcophagi, and is purely classical in motive. Northcote and Brownlow, in *Roma Sotterranea*, in speaking of certain early decoration in the Cemetery of Domitilla, say: "We do not deem it necessary to insist on finding a Christian meaning in every detail of the work, *e.g.*, in the little winged 'putti' which appear among the branches; these were most probably introduced only as innocent artistic ornaments." The winged genii holding the panels on the more markedly Christian sarcophagi may *possibly* be symbolic of Christian victory; it would be a legitimate deduction

from the numerous instances on Roman coins of "victories," generally draped, holding wreaths or placing them on the heads of conquerors, who are often in chariots.

But for a closer acquaintance with the ideas of "spirits" in the mind of at least one Christian theologian, in the early part of the 4th century, we may turn to Lactantius, who in his *Divine Institutions* (Book II, c. XV), gives us his views of them, and incidentally tells us what the Pagan Romans thought of them. His doctrine is important, in view of the circumstances in which, subsequently, demons were represented in Christian MSS., sculpture, and painting, and therefore I have thought better to give the chapter in full:—

"Of the corruption of Angels, and the two kinds of Demons.

"When, therefore, the number of men had begun to increase, God in his forethought, lest the devil, to whom from the beginning He had given power over the earth, should by his subtilty either corrupt or destroy men, as he had done at first, sent angels for the protection and improvement of the human race; and inasmuch as He had given these a free will, He enjoined them above all things not to defile themselves with contamination from the earth, and thus lose the dignity of their heavenly nature. He plainly prohibited them from doing that which He knew that they would do, that they might entertain no hope of pardon. Therefore, while they abode among men, that most deceitful ruler of the earth, by his very association, gradually enticed them to vices, and polluted them by intercourse with women. Then, not being admitted into heaven on account of the sins into which they had plunged themselves, they fell to the earth. Thus from angels the devil makes them to become his satellites and attendants. But they who were born from these, because they were neither angels nor men, but bearing a kind of mixed nature, were not admitted into hell, as their fathers were not into heaven. Thus there came to be two kinds of demons; one of heaven, the other of the earth. The latter are the wicked spirits, the authors of all the evils which are done, and the same devil is their prince. Whence Trismegistus calls him the ruler of the demons. But grammarians say that they are called demons, as though "dœmones," that is skilled and acquainted, indeed, with many future events, but not all, since it is not permitted them entirely to know the counsel of God, and therefore they are accustomed to accommodate their answers to ambiguous results. The poets both know them to be demons, and so describe them. Hesiod thus speaks:

'These are the demons according to the will of Zeus,
Good, living on the earth, the guardians of mortal men.'[1]

And this is said for this purpose, because God had sent them as guardians to the human race; but they themselves also, tho' they are the destroyers of men, yet wish themselves to appear as their guardians, that they themselves may be worshipped and God may not be worshipped. The philosophers also discuss the subject of these beings. For Plato attempted even to explain their natures in his *Banquet;* and Socrates said that there was a demon continually about him, who had become attached to him when a boy, by whose will and direction his life was guided. The art also and power of the Magi[2] altogether consists in the influences of these; invoked by whom they deceive the sight of men with deceptive illusions, so that they do not see those things which exist, and think that they see those things which do not exist. These contaminated and abandoned spirits, as I say, wander over the whole earth, and contrive a solace for their own perdition by the destruction of men. Therefore they fill every place with snares, deceits, frauds, and errors; for they cling to individuals, and occupy whole houses from door to door, and assume to themselves the name of 'genii,' for by this word they translate demons in the Latin language. They consecrate these in their houses, to these they daily pour out libations of wine, and worship the wise demons as gods of the earth, and as averters of those evils which they themselves cause and impose. And these, since spirits are without substance and not to be grasped, insinuate themselves into the bodies of men; and secretly working in their inward parts, they corrupt the health, hasten diseases, terrify their souls with dreams, harass their minds with frenzies, that by these evils they may compel men to have recourse to their aid."[3]

The beginning of this pronouncement is clearly based on the early verses of chapter vi of *Genesis*, and with it is connected the Fall of the Angels and formation of demons. With this, again, is contrasted the current ideas of the Pagan world about spirits, viewed through the spectacles of the Christian theologian. It is probable that, with the masses, the belief in spirits remained pretty constant, the good spirits coinciding with the Christian conception of the "Guardian Angel,"

[1] "When Earth's dark breast had closed this race around,
Great Jove as demons raised them from the ground.
Earth-hovering spirits, they their charge began,
The ministers of good, and guards of man."
Eldon's *Hesiod's Works and Days*, 161.

[2] Magicians.

[3] Ante-Nicene Library, Vol. XXI.

while the term "demon" acquired a permanently evil significance. The enormous number of angels and demons in mediæval Christian Art testifies to the large part they played in people's imaginations The Angels at Chaldon are engaged in the work of salvation of souls, while the demons are busy gathering them for destruction.

The demon of the west was, like the angel, based upon the human form, with such additions as might suitably complete his "get up," and it is interesting to see how this was done. In the Chaldon painting there are no less than 12 remaining, all more or less of one type. Their principal features are:—

1. Ears erect.
2. Large almond-shaped eyes.
3. Grinning mouths with fringe of teeth and projecting tongues.
4. Tails.
5. Feet either hoofed or clawed.

Certain demon features do not appear, such as a shaggy skin,[1] horns, wings, and faces on the body. The large demon in the soul-weighing scene seems to have a conventional fringe of hair on his head.

For the "making up" of the Christian demon as repulsive as possible, the desired attributes had to be borrowed from elsewhere, and we turn again to Classical Art for details. There were ready to hand certain models, which in addition to their forms were attractive by reason of their associations. These were the Gorgon and the Satyr. The Gorgons were the inhabitants of Hades. We are not concerned with the poetic version of the three Gorgon Maidens as given by Hesiod, but with the Medusa heads. The terrible nature of her appearance is a common theme. Homer (*Il.*, xi, 367) thus tells of the shield of Atrides: "And on it was set as a crown a grim-eyed Gorgon, glaring terribly, and round about were terror and fear"; and again from the vision

[1] The large demon on the right of the cauldron alone has a little hair on his leg.

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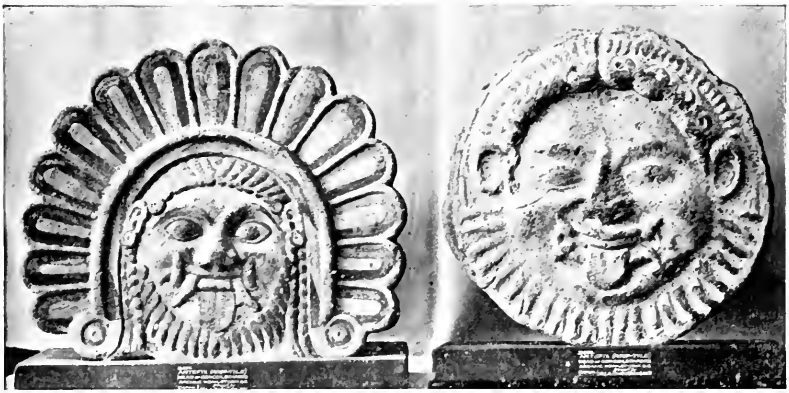


(1) Antefixes, Gorgons' Heads. (B. M.)

G. C. Druce, *Photo.*

(2) Minster, Thanet: Demon Heads.

G. C. Druce, *Photo.*

(3) Southwark Cathedral: Bosses.

(4) Pompeii, Mural Painting: Satyr and Goat.

of the dead summoned up from Hades before Ulysses (*Od.*, xi, 632): "But first the nations of the dead gathered round me in their myriads with awful din; and green fear seized me lest revered Persephone might send me up from Hades the head of that dread monster the Gorgon." And in the *Prometheus Vinctus* of Æschylus: "And near these are the winged sisters three with snakes for hair, hateful to mortal men, the Gorgons—whom no mortal man shall see and live."

Gorgon heads occur in considerable variety; their chief features are the curly or snaky hair on the head with sometimes small wings, the fringe round the face, ears, and the grinning mouth with fangs and projecting tongue. The accompanying illustration (Pl. VI (1)) shows two upon antefixæ or roof tiles from Capua, *c.* 500 B.C. and now in the British Museum. These Gorgon heads had a great influence upon our architectural details, as the motive is found in many carvings on misericords, most of which are I feel sure intended for demons' heads. At Minster (Thanet) there are three together (Pl. VI (2)), the two outer ones following the classical type closely, but the centre one is more of an actual demon, having horns and claws, which may be seen clutching the head-dress of the lady. This scene is akin to those of the sacrament of Penance upon the 7-sacrament fonts, where the demon either clutches one of the guilty pair, as at Farningham (Kent), or is perched on the man's head or shoulder as at Great Glemham (Suffolk). The division down the tongue is very marked here, and compares with the same detail on the antefixæ, but the size of the tongue in the carvings is often much exaggerated. And here I must point out that we have almost the same thing, a beast's head with projecting tongue, due to another classical motive, the lion's head, frequently seen on coins. The resemblance between the two designs is often close, and it is difficult to distinguish between them. The tiles at Wonersh Church are a case in point.[1] Good examples of lions heads, the centre one

[1] Illustrations of Pardus and similar animals with grinning mouths and tongues out occur also in the mediæval Bestiaries.

full face, may be seen upon a misericord at Chichester Cathedral.

These conventionalised demons' faces also occur on bosses, such as those from the old nave roof at Southwark Cathedral. In the illustration here given (Pl. VI (3)) the small boss on the right shows the Gorgon motive faithfully, but the large one is more the face of a demon. He is apparently consumed with joy at swallowing the woman. It may possibly be only the devil devouring a lost soul, but I feel pretty sure it is a form of the legend of St. Margaret, because her skirt and boots, which we see going in, correspond closely with the two 12th-century examples at Bretforton (Wor.) and Cotham (Yorks.), where she is swallowed by a dragon. The boss above, on the other hand, seems to reflect a beast's head. At Lincoln Cathedral there is a good boss of the Gorgon head type.

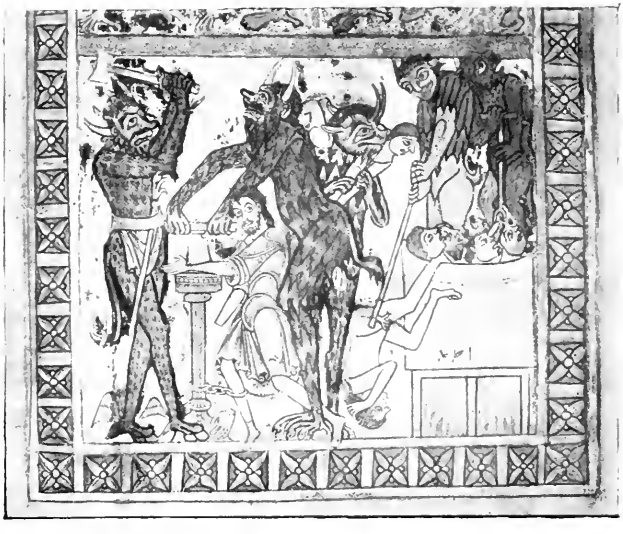
While I think the Gorgon's head, with its association with Hades, supplied the main motive for the demon's head, it is quite likely that the Bacchanalian masks which follow it closely had a considerable influence. They were worn by men representing satyrs, and had grinning mouths, often with tongues out, and they sometimes had two little goat horns on the top of the head mixed with the hair. Examples of these masks appear on gems, and may be seen illustrated in King's *Antique Gems and Rings* (Pl. XXXI). The Classical satyr generally supplied most of the other features of the Christian demon, viz.: the tail, hoofed feet, shaggy body and horns. It is possible that the shaggy or goatskin body may be indicated by the red colouring of the big demon on the right side of the cauldron in the painting. The satyr is described in Smith's *Classical Dictionary* as having "bristly hair, the nose round and somewhat turned upward, the ears pointed at the top like those of animals, with two small horns growing out of the top of the forehead, and with a tail like that of a horse or goat." Of my two illustrations, the first (Pl. VI (4)) is taken from Plate 73 of R. Garguilo's *Recueil des monumens du Musée Royal Bourbon* (Naples, 1858), and shows

(1) Bronze, Satyr with Wine Bag. (B. M.)

(2) York: Demons and Soul.

G. C. Druce, *Photo.*

(3) Peterborough Cathedral: Demons.



(4) Hell Torments. (B. M. MS. Nero. C. IV.)

a dancing competition between a satyr and goat on a mural painting from Pompeii. The other is a little bronze (Pl. VII (1)) in the British Museum. Both have horns and hoofed feet, and between them most of the other features. A great many of the satyrs on the vases at the British Museum are connected with the Bacchanalian festivals, where they occur with Maenads. The little bronze shows a satyr with a wine bag on his shoulders. He may be a victor in a game played more particularly during the third Dionysiac festival, the Anthesteria, in which a he-goat was sacrificed, its skin blown up with air, and well oiled. The various competitors then tried to dance on it, or to see who could drink most wine without coming to grief, for the benefit of the spectators, the winner getting a bag of wine as a prize.[1]

The association of the satyr with the Bacchanalian festivals was that of license and orgy, and although the disgraceful form into which they developed at Rome was suppressed, the art form of the satyr remained, and in due time became typical of everything gross and repulsive in the Christian eye.

As to the doctrine of demons, Mr. Waller, in his account of the soul-weighing, quotes from the *Dialogues of St. Gregory*, who says, "that on the point of separation of the soul from the body, the good and bad angels come, and the merits and demerits of the man are weighed. The good angel alleges and recites the man's good works, the bad angel recalling to memory all the evil ones. And if, indeed, the bad preponderate over the good, so that he departed in mortal sin, immediately the soul is delivered to the torturers, who thrust the man, or his soul, down to the prison of Hell to eternal punishment." This is the stage before the Hell-cauldron scene, and it is well represented upon a sculptured tympanum of the 12th century, now in the Philosophical Society's Museum at York (Pl. VII (2)). The demons here are three in number, and they are busy securing the soul of

[1] *Vide* Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquaries*, *s. v.* Ascoliasmus, where there is a cut copied from Krause, *Gymnastik und Agonistik d. Hellenen*, p. 399.

the dying man, which appears as a naked infant issuing from his mouth. They have the shaggy skin, tails, repulsive heads with grinning mouths, fringe of teeth, and ears erect. The left demon has wings, as befitting a bad "angel," the right one claws, as in the painting. I am not quite sure about the source of these claws, which resemble birds' claws; it is possible they came from the harpies, which had a bad character as birds of prey.

Another good example of demons, who approach the details of the Chaldon painting, is to be seen on the base of the central shaft of the great west doorway at Peterborough Cathedral (Pl. VII (3)). Here they are both clawed and hoofed, and they are throwing a lost soul, who is clothed, head first over into what we may imagine is Hell-cauldron below.

The cauldron scene at Chaldon is a very terrible one, and testifies both to mediæval methods of religious and moral teaching, and the public imagination on the subject of Hell torments. With a view of comparing details, I have had a reproduction made of a similar scene in the MS. before alluded to, Nero, C. IV (Pl. VII (4)). The cauldrons have a marked resemblance with their fires beneath and the cluster of souls within. In the MS. illustration one of them is crowned, and they all seem to be crying out. There are also two demons attending to each pot, but while at Chaldon they both have forks, in the MS. one has a rake, with which he is catching a wretched soul, who has fallen out. Another demon in the MS. likewise brings a soul on his back to the cauldron, while two more are busy cutting a poor wretch's hand off on the top of an ornamental post, to which he is chained. The demons here are of the most revolting description. They all have horns, shaggy bodies of different kinds, tails, and hoofed or clawed feet, the latter being those of birds of prey. They have the same wide grinning mouths, teeth, ears, and fringed faces. The large demon on the left, with the mallet, has a waist-band into which his rake is stuck, and he has winged feet, an unusual feature, which I can only attribute to a

classical model, such as Mercury, and I presume they signify the same as wings on the shoulders. There is another remarkable feature about the demon with the mallet. He has a head at the end of his tail. This is a dragon's head, and is an adaptation from those heads which appear on dragons' tails in MSS. and sculpture. We see it on the tail of the Great Red Dragon in MS. illustrations of the *Apocalypse*, and sculptured examples may be seen at Newton Church (Yorks.), and upon a boss at Southwark Cathedral. This tail-head was a stinging or biting one, to emphasize the venomous nature of the dragon.

In his reference to the Hell torment scene, Mr. Waller says little or nothing about the cauldron and its contents. What were the torments that the souls therein were subjected to? We can ascertain this from mediæval literature. In a MS. at Jesus College, Oxford (No. 29), there is a metrical poem in an early English dialect, entitled, "The xi Pains of Hell," recounting a visit of St. Paul to Hell and what he saw there.[1] An account of the second Pain includes the following:—

> "Then there is an oven heated,
> Seven devils stand thereat,
> And the souls receive,
> And them into the fire toss.
> Things there be all about,
> That man ought much to fear:
> Snow and ice and clotted blood,
> Snakes and adders stinging very fiercely."

The account continues that such guilty souls have no rest, and tells us that these torments are for the lascivious, rearers of unjust laws, and false judges.

In another version (Douce MS. 302) where Michael takes St. Paul to visit Hell on a Sunday, the account runs thus:—

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[1] The following extracts are taken from "*An Old English Miscellany*," published by the Early English Text Society, 1872, but as the dialect is difficult without a glossary, I have thought it better to put the lines into more modern form, even at the expense of the metre.

"Within the gates, when they were passed,
A marvellous furnace there they see,
Many a sinful soul were therein cast,
Four flames of fire stood burning,
Of divers colours wonderfully;
About that furnace seven sorrows there were,
Great snow, great ice, great cold and horrible,
Great adders, great stench, great light, great fire."

These torments were for proud men, robbers, and manslayers.

In a third version (Vernon MS.) we have the "fournes" directly called a cauldron:—

"He saw a cauldron burning at once,
Of divers colours with seven rays;
And there were they for their sin,
Divers in pain therein;
And seven pains were there also,
That caused the souls much woe."

The souls that were tormented in those furnaces wept, yelled, and desired to die (*vide* MS. illustration). In this version the Bridge is mentioned, and a reference to horns on Hell-angels:—

"And there were four angels to tell
That were of the house of hell,
Burning horns had they on head,
They them tormented, and did them evil."

Another poem of the same period, also in the Jesus College MS., helps us. It is termed "Death," and gives us many details, including a description of the devil. It treats of the relations between the soul and the body, of their enmity, etc.; and then follow verses in which the soul curses the body for having betrayed it and laments the torments that it will itself have to undergo in consequence:—

"Now thou shalt remain,
And I must needs go;
For all thy guilt
I shall receive reward.
That is hunger and cold
And fire-burning sparks.
And so me will Satan
Full horribly burn."

Farther on the boiling lake is described, and a reference to the rake :—

"In a bitter bath
I shall bathe naked,
Of pitch and of brimstone
Boiling it is made.
There is Satan the wicked one,
Ready with his rake.
And so me will swallow
The fire-burning dragon.

* * * * *

Who sees that wicked one
How loathesome he be
Horns on his head
Horns on his knee.
There is nothing alive
That so horrible be
Woe is him in hell
That him shall see.

He yawneth with his mouth,
And stareth with his eye,
From out of his nostrils
Cometh the red flame,
That fire springeth him out
Of every eyebrow.
He must die for care
Who so him sees.

Also both his eye-pits
As a (coal-pit deep and great),[1]
That fire springeth from him
Wonderfully red.
Nor may no tongue tell
How loathesome is the wicked one ;
Who so looketh on him
For care he might be dead."

From these sources we learn that the cauldron contains seven great sorrows. The "bytter bath of pych and of brimston" comes in the fourth Pain, otherwise called a "water" or "flood," in which many souls were immersed, including women who were unchaste and had destroyed their offspring.

[1] In a later hand.

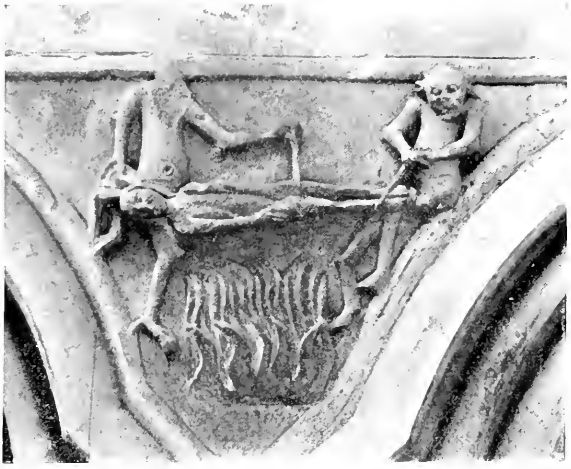
A vivid picture of demons roasting a soul over a fire may be seen carved in a spandril in the south transept of Worcester Cathedral (Pl. VIII (1)). The composition is clearly based on the cooking of a large joint on a spit. As a side light on this form of torment, I have found the following in a 13th-century Latin MS. in the British Museum (Harl. 4751), in connection with the swan: "But as the swan, when stripped of its white plumage, is put upon a spit and roasted at the fire, so when the rich and proud man dying is stripped of his earthly glory, descending to the flames of hell, he will be tortured and tormented; and as he was wont when alive to long for food, so he himself when going down into the pit, becomes food for fire."

One of the features that we miss, both in the Chaldon painting and MS. Nero, C. IV, is the little reptiles biting the souls in the cauldron. They frequently appear in sculpture; a good 12th-century example occurs on a carved stone, now in the Deanery Library at York;[1] also upon tympana and doorways abroad, as at Bourges Cathedral and Notre Dame, Paris. They take the form of frogs or toads, lizards, and snakes. In the illustration of Bourges (Pl. VIII (2)) a snake and a frog or toad can be seen on the edge of the cauldron, the latter with its head in the mouth of a soul, while another bites the breast of a woman. We read a good deal about these torments in the poems I have quoted from. They are called "devil's beasts." Faces and wings also upon the demon's bodies appear at Bourges, and the large demon on the left has a dragon head on the end of his tail, as in the MS.

Surrey archæologists have reason to be thankful for the possession of such a treasure as the painting at Chaldon. It contains a wealth of material, much of which remains to be written upon, the Bridge of Spikes, for instance, and the Weighing of Souls.

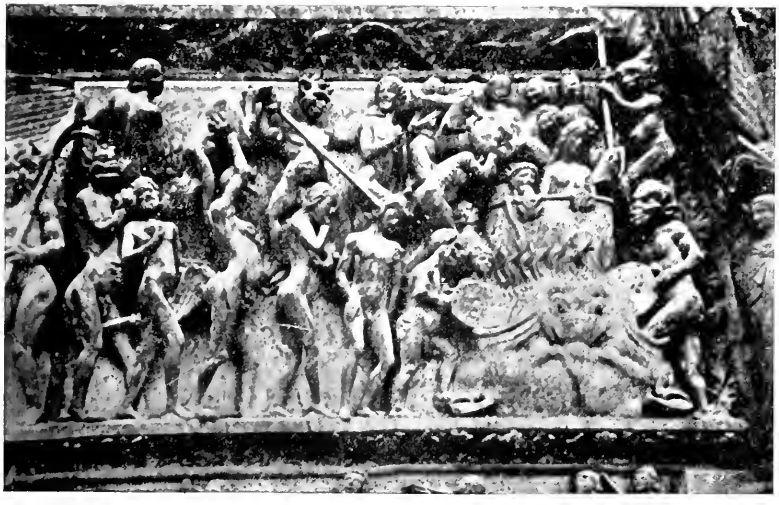
So far I have not heard of its showing any signs of fading. The Rev. G. E. Belcher, Rector of Chaldon,

[1] Illustrated and described in *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, Vol. XIX, Part 76, p. 435.



G. G. Buckley, *Photo.*

(1) Worcester Cathedral: Demons Roasting Soul.



(2) Bourges Cathedral: Hell Cauldron.

takes a great interest in it, and exercises a careful supervision; to him I am deeply indebted for special facilities when photographing the painting some years ago, and for much assistance in other ways. To Dr. G. G. Buckley I must also express my thanks for the loan of negatives of Castle Froome and Worcester, and to Mr. E. L. Guilford for that of the font at Lenton.

FURTHER INVENTORIES OF THE GOODS AND ORNAMENTS OF THE CHURCHES IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

COMMUNICATED BY

R. A. ROBERTS,

SECRETARY OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

(Continued from Volume XXII, page 104).

The inventories which follow are derived from the same source as those printed in the preceding volumes of the *Surrey Archæological Collections*, namely, the Loseley MSS., and are published by the Society through the courteous permission of Lieutenant and Mrs. More-Molyneux McCowen. For the transcripts from the original manuscripts, the Secretary of the Historical MSS. Commission and the Society are again wholly indebted to Mr. Theodore Craib, of the Public Record Office.

[ST. MARY, BLETCHINGLEY.]

Hundredum de Tanridge.

William Causten } formen
George Ridley }

Blechinglie in the hundreth of Tanridge.

The verdit of us William Causten and George Ridley with the rest of the same jurye by the names of sidemen the xvijth day of October in the sixt year of the reigne of our sovereigne lorde Edward the sixt

by the grace of God of Englond Fraunce and Irlond Kinge defendour of the faith and in earthe of the churche of Englond and Irlond supreme hedde charged by the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Caurden and Sir Thomas Saunders Knightes, John Scott and Nicholas Leighe esquiers the xiijth daye of September in the year abovesaid by vertue of a commission of our said sovereigne lord the king directed unto the lorde Marques of Northampton the lorde William Howard Sir William Cecill Sir Thomas Caurden Sir Thomas Saunders knightes John Scott Nicholas Leighe and Harry Polsted esquiers dated the xvjth day of May in the year afore written as folowith according to the chardge articulerly.

1. Inprimis to the first article of our charge we say thus that [*blank*] wear church wardens of this said parishe in the first year of the reigne of our sovereign lorde the king that now is.

2. Item to the seconde we saye that all soche goodes plate juelles vestmentes belles and other ornamentes belonging to the churche of Blechinglie are in the handes and custodye of soche persons as the inventory herunder written doth declare.

3. Item to the thirde we saye that the old inventory indented is herunder annexed receved of the churche wardens that wer charged with the same.

4. Item to the fourthe we saye that the goodes kept, deteyned, lost, sonlde or stolen sens the first inventorye made dothe appear in the new inventory hereafter written what and how moche to whom and for what price when and for what cause by whom and whose appoyment any the same ornamentes are disposed and not furthe cominge accordinge to the first inventorye.

5. Item to fift we saye that the wardens accomptes is declared all bokes escriptes and strowes examined and delyvered unto us in that upon their accomptes it appereth that all charges allowances and discharges accompted reconed receved and allowed ther remayneth dewe unto Christopher Chapman and John Dawbour now churche wardens ther the summe of [*blank*].

6. Item to the sixte we saye that the new inventorye herunder written doth aunswer this article full.

7. Item to the seventh we saye that the goodes that wer perloyned or neccligently forgotten and not put in inventorye appear in the new inventorye herafter folowing.

Blechinglie

This inventorye taken by the jury aforesaid the xxxth daye of September in the year afore said of all and every soche goodes juelles belles vestments with soche other ornamentes as doth or ought to appertine unto the parishe of Blechinglie as folowyth.

Inprimis one chalice of silver or cupe[1]
Item one cope of blewe velvet with braunches of gold
Item one cope of black velvett
Item iij vestmentes of velvet wherof one is blew velvett with a crosse of embrothered work with albe and all other ornamentes unto the same. An other of grene velvett with a white crosse of damask and all ornamentes unto the same. One other of black velvett with a crosse of redde velvett and all other ornamentes unto the same
Item one cope of white damask with braunches of gold
Item one cope of redde silk with burdes of gold on it
Item one cope of crane colored silk
Item one vestment of white damask with a crosse of grene velvet and all ornamentes unto the same
Item one vestment of blew saye with a red crosse and all ornamentes unto the same
Item ij tunakilles of the same colour
Item one vestment of grene damask with a red crosse of velvett and all ornamentes unto the same
Item one hersteloth
Item ij hanginges of aulterclothes the one grene velvet the other white damask
Item a cloth that was wont to be borne on palmesonday
Item ij stayned stremours of canvas
Item iiij aulter clothes
Item vj corporous cases
Item a crosse clothe of silk
Item a crosse of copper and a foot[2]
Item ij great candlestickes of latten and ij small
Item ij crismatories of latten
Item ij basons of latten
Item iiij belles in the steple
Item a sauns bell in the handes of Richard Chamley and by him lent to the Ladye Cleves.

[*Another copy with the last item omitted, but with the following memorandum added.*]

M^{d} The accompt tacun of the churche wardens accordyng to our chargge and thear remayenyth dew by the churche boex unto the churche wardens for that that they have layed owet more then they have recevyd the sum of [*blank*].

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[1] "or cupe" is omitted in the second copy.
[2] "and a foot" is omitted in the second copy.

M^{d} thear ys dew unto Sir Thomas Cawerden by the churche boex and wardens for mony by hym layed owet and dyspendyd upon the churche in the abolleshyng and defasyng of the idollatre and allteryng the ollde superstysyon over and besyedds iiij^{xx}xiiij*li* broken latten at [*blank*] the pound to hym delyveryd in parte of payement and over and besyed twente and sevyn pound to hym payd by [*blank*] Toeke golldsmyth for broken plaett to hym sollde before the makyng of the fyrst invytore and before any commaundement had or any restrayent made the sum of [*blank*].

[Bletchingley.]

Item x towelles wherof vj long for the fourmes aboute the communyon table and iiij short for the same
Item iiij square table clothes for the table
Item ij paire of organs one smaller then the other
Item ij deske clothes for the Byble
Item ij pulpit clothes
Item a founte clothe of lynyn stayned
Item a sqnare table for the communion
Item iij fourmes
Item vj d.....
Item ij clothes for the communion cupp
Item vij surplesses old and worne
Item vj cussions for bookes

M^{d} that thies were churche wardens in the fyrst year of the king majestes reigne that now is } John Dawbour. Christopher Chapman.

M^{d} that the accomptes taken of the churche wardens according to our charge ther remaineth dew by the said churche the churche wardens for money by them laid then receved as apperithe by the churche boke of reconning } [*blank*].

M^{d} also that ther hath ben no goodes or other ornamentes sold from this churche sithe year reign of our sovereign lord.

[ALL SAINTS, CARSHALTON.]

KARSALTON, SURREY.

The Inventory indented made the xixth daye of Marche yn the thyrde yere of the reigne of our soverayne lorde King Edwarde the syxt bytwene John Scott Nicholas Legh and William Saunders esquyer commyssyoners apoynted amonge other to sytt within the hundred of Wallyngton to take the forsaid inventory of all the churche goodes on the one partie and Sir Lewes Pestell curat of the parisshe churche of Karsalton Thomas Fraye and John Dewbery churche wardeyns Rychard Thoms John Muschamp and John Blake senior sydemen on the other partie wytnessyth that hereafter ensuyth all the churche goodes of Karsalton aforsaid yn maner and forme folowing that ys to saye

First ij chaleces wherof one parcell gylt and the other cleane gilt
Item one paxe of sylver parcell gilt
Item ij crosses of copper
Item iiij paynted crosse clothes
Item v great belles
Item ij lytle processyon belles and a sacryng bell
Item ij great latten candelstykes that stode before the high aulter
Item v latten candelstykes for aulters
Item xxj^{ti} latten candelstykes for the rode lofte
Item a peyre of latten sensers
Item vij cruettes of pewter
Item iij paxes
Item a sute of vestmentes of grene brydges satten with their albes to theym
Item a vestmente of russett damaske with the albe
Item a vestmente of purple satten with the albe
Item a vestment of red damaske with the albe
Item ij vestmentes of dornex and one albe
Item an olde vestment of red velvett
Item a vestment of grene velvett with the albe
Item a cope of olde grene damaske
Item an olde cope of blew and white sylke with flowers
Item a cope of olde blew satten
Item a cope of olde whyte sylk
Item v corporas cases and iiij lynnen clothes to theym
Item viij lynnen aulter clothes and ij towelles
Item an aulter clothe of bridges satten
Item a latten bason and a pewter bason
Item a latten holy water stocke
Item x banner clothes
Item iij torches
Item iij tryndelles of waxe
Item ij olde paynted clothes to hange before aulters

Item iij crosse staves
Item iiij banner staves
Item a leden holy water stocke
Item a curteyn of red and grene saye that hangyth over the high aulter
Item a pece of a curten of red and grene saye
Item an olde lenten clothe to hange before the high aulter
Item a peynted clothe for the sepulcre

Sir Lewys Pestell curat

Rychard Thoms
per me Johannem Muschamp

Johannem Scotte
per nos Nicholaum Leigh
Willelmum Saunders.

[ST. LAWRENCE, CATERHAM.]

Hundredum de Tanridge.

Catterham in hundredo predicto.

William Causten } foremen.
George Ridley }

The verdict of us William Causten and George Ridlei with the rest of the same jury by the names of sidemen geven up the xvij daie of October in the sixt yere of the reigne of our soverigne Lord Edward the sixt by the grace of God of Englond, Fraunce and Irlond Kyng defender of the feithe and in erthe of the churche of Englond and Irlond supreme hed, chargid by the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Cawerden and Sir Thomas Saunderes Knightes, Jhon Scott and Nicholas Leighe esquieres by vertu of a comission from our seid soverigne lord the king bering date the [*blank*] daie of Maie in the seid sixt yere of his majestes reigne, directyd unto the lord Marquis of Northampton, the Lord William Howard, Sir William Cecill, Sir Thomas Cawerden, Sir Thomas Saunderes Knightes, Jhon Scott, Nicholas Leighe and Harry Polsted esquieres as here after folowithe according to the charge articulerlie.

Inprimis to the first article of our charge we saie thus that [*blank*] were churchewardens of this seid parishe in the first yere of the reigne of our soverigne lord the king that now is.

Item to the second we saie that all suche goodes plate juelles vestementes belles and other ornamentes belonging to the parishe of Catterham are in the handes and custodie of suche persones as the inventorie here under writon dothe declare.

Item to the third we saie that the old inventorie endentid is here under annexid recevid of the churchewardens that were charged with the same.

Item to the fourthe we saie that the goodes kept deteined lost sold or stollen sins the first inventorie made dothe appere in the new inventorie here after folowing what and how muche to whom and for what price when and for what cawse by whom and whose apointment eny the seid ornamentes are disposyd and not furthe commyng according to the first inventorie.

Item to the fift we saie that the wardenes accomptes declarid all bookes registeres escriptes and writynges examynyd and delyvered unto us in and uppon there accomptes it aperithe that all charges, alowances and reconerges accomptyd and alowed there is dew as lastly apperithe.

Item to the sixt we saie that the new inventorie here under writon dothe answer this article full.

Item to the seventhe we saie that the goodes that were perloynyd or negligently forgotten and not put in inventorie appere in the new inventorie here after folowing.

This inventorie taken by the jurie aforeseid, the xxx daie of September in the year above writon of all and everie suche goodes juelles belles vestementes with suche other ornamentes as dothe or owght to apperteyne unto the parishe of Catterham now in the charge of [*blank*]

Inprimis twoo chalaces of silver with patentes
Item iij vestimentes one of whit an other of blewe stolen and the third of red dornix
Item two copes one of blew dornix and an other of red
Item one pix of laten with a canapi to the same
Item a corporas cace of silke, and ij clothes to the same
Item a front a fore the alter of lynen clothe steined
Item a front benethe the alter of blew and grene clothe
Item a coverlett to lie before the alter
Item a crosse of laten with a clothe of red sarsnett
Item ij candellstickes of laten
Item iiij crewetes of pewter
Item a senser of laten
Item iiij banner clothes of clothe
Item ij hanging basones to set taperes in of laten
Item in the stepell two belles and a litell bell

M^d^ that we the jury aforesaid do saie that ther was stolen out of the said churche by night the said blew vestment with the furneture to the same and all the aulterclothes.

Also ther was embeseled ij corporous clothes and a fount cloth but by whom we cannot saye

Expenses and other charges laid out by the said wardens at sondrie times at visitacon and other courtes and for making thies indentures.

So all thinges accompted ther is dew
unto the said [*blank*] by the said [*blank*]

[*Two copies.*]

[Caterham.]

The accompte inventory of the churche goodes of the parisshe of [Caterham] with the names of the churche wardens from the first yeare of the reign [of] our sovereigne lord King Edward the syxte and theire imploy.....and remayndure therof untill this daye That is to say—

In the seid first yeare of the reigne of our sovereigne lord King Edward the vjth William Caton and John Rapkyn beinge churchewardens made [their] accompte and lefte nothinge in the boxe which churchewardens contynewed iij years.

Item in the iiijth yeare Thomas Bassett and Thomas Rosse beinge churche[wardens] made theire accompte and lefte in the box xxij*d.* which was bestowed in visitacion ch[arges].

Item in the vth yeare John Beste and John Hewton being churche wardens sowlde in theire tyme an awlter stone price ij*s.* ij*d.* which was bestowed in visi[tation] and the same imployed ij awbes for towells to serve the commu[nion] table withall. And in their tyme the same year the churche of Catera[m was] robbed of a blewe vestement with all that longethe to it, with all the other .....of the highe awlter, toe corporus clothes and a whighte clothe abowte the .... and the same imployed ij challyces of sylver to make a cupp for the communyon poz.....

And so remaynethe

Inprimis a communyon cupp of silver wayinge xviij ounces
Item ij vestementes of dornyx one white an other redd
Item one pyx of latten with a canypie to the same
Item a corporus cace of silk
Item a lynnen clothe steyned
Item a coverlett to lye before the awlter

Item a crosse of latten, with a clothe of redd sarsenett
Item ij candellstyckes of latten
Item iiij crewettes of pewter
Item a senser of latten
Item iiij banner clothes of clothe
Item ij hangynge basens of latten
Item in the steple ij hanginge belles and one litle hand bell.

ST. LEONARD, CHELSHAM.

Hundredum de Tanridge.

William Causten } formen
George Ridlei }

Chelsham in hundredo prædicto.

The verdict of William Causten and George Ridlei with [the] rest of the same jurie by the name of sidemen given up the xvijth daye of October in the sixt yere of the reigne of our sovereigne Lord Edward the sixt by the grace of God of Englond Fraunce and Irlond King defender of the feithe and in earthe of the churche of Inglond and Irlond supreme hed chargid by the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Caurden and Sir Thomas Saunder Knightes Jhon Scott and Nicholas Leighe esquiers by vertu of a comission from our seid sovereigne Lord the King bering date the [*blank*] of Maye in the seid sixe yeare of his majestes reigne directyd unto the Lord Marques of Northampton the Lord William Howard Sir William Cecill, Sir Thomas Caurden Sir Thomas Saunderes, knightes, John Scott Nicholas Leighe and Harry Polsted, esquires, as hereafter folowithe according to the charge articulerlye.

Inprimis to the first article of our charge we saye thus that John Wood and Edward Basset were churchewardens of this seid parishe in the first yere of the reigne of our sovereigne lord the king that now is.

Item to the second we saye that all suche goodes plate juelles vestementes belles and other ornamentes belongyng to the parishe of Chelsham are in the handes and custodie of suche persones as the inventorie hereunder writen dothe declare.

Item to the third we saye that the old inventorie endentid is here under annexed recevid of the churche[wardens] that were chargyd with the same.

Item to the fourthe we saye that the goodes kept [detained] lost sold or stolen sins the first inventorie made dothe in the new inventorie here after writon what and how muche, to whom and for what price, when and for what cawse, by whom and whose apointment any the same ornamentes are disposyd and not furthe commyng according to the first inventorie.

Item to the fift we saye that the wardenes accomptes declarid all bookes registeres escriptes and wrytynges examyned and delyvered unto us in and uppon there accomptes it aperith that all chargis alowances and reconinges accomptyd and alowed there remaynethe dew unto the churchewardenes the somme of [*blank*].

Item to the sixt we saye that the new inventorie here under writon dothe answer this artycle full.

Item to the seventh we saie that the goodes that were perloyned or negligently forgotten and not put in inventorie appeare in the new inventorie here after folowyng.

This inventorie taken by the jury aforesaid the xxx day [of] September in the year above writton of all and every soche goodes juelles belles vestmentes with soche other orna[mentes] as do or ought to apperteine to the parishe of Chelsham as folowith now in the charge of [*blank*].

Inprimis one chalice of silver
Item ij cruetes of pewter
Item ij candelstickes of brasse
Item a pix of copper
Item ij corporouses with cases of satten
Item iij aulter clothes
Item ij towelles
Item j cloth to hang before the aulter
Item iij vestmentes furnished
Item iij vestmentes unfurnished
Item iij crosses of latten
Item ij crosclothes
Item j herstclothe
Item a towell for Easter
Item j vaill clothe
Item ij curtains for the aulter
Item ij belles in the steple
Item ij procession belles
Item a pair of sensers of latten
Item a crismatory
Item a cope of tawny velvett embrothered with gold
Item a cope of blew cades
Item ij other copes of black and red silk
Item a chest.

M[d] that we the jury aforesaid do saie that John Wodew and Edward Basset sold one crosse of latten with a pair of sensers with [*blank*] candlestickes and wax and had for the same xij*s*.

Whereof laid out for bookes and certain reperacons in and about the said churche with more money therunto put by the said wardens amounting to xij*s*. iiij*d*.

Item for making thies indentures ij*s*.

All the resadew of this inventory remaine still in the said wardens handes.

Also ther is embeseled one aulter cloth and ij towelles whiche we canne have no knowlege of.

So all thinges accompted and reconed ther is dew to the wardens by the said churche } ij*s*. iiij*d*.

[*Two copies.*]

[CHESSINGTON.]

..... our churche goodes plate juelles vestimentes belles and other ornamentes nowe remaynyng to the churche and that there remayn non other goodes of our seid churche in eny man['s] possession to our knowledge.

To the third article we sey that we bring in the contepayn of the inventorie of our churche goodes plate juelles and ornamentes late made and certified to the kynges maiesties comyssionors or other officers of the late bysshopp of Wynchester for and of the premysses.

To the fourth article we sey that ther is and was solde by Xpofer Mere and Thomas Goodchilde then churche wardeyns the xth of August in the fourthe yere of our seid sovereign lord the kyng by the assent of the holl parisshe to one [*blank*] wax for ... ... iiij*s*.

Solde also by Henry Pynner and Thomas Goodchilde then churche wardeyns the xth of August last past to one William Warde of Kyngeston j crosse of laten ij laten candylstyckes j hollywater stook of brasse and j sencer of laten for ... ... iij*s*.

Whiche amount in the holl to the som of ... ... vij*s*.

And whiche seid som of vij*s.* and more moneye was bestowed and payd by the seid churche wardeyns in repayryng of More Lane in the said parisshe and layd forthe besides for wasshyng the churche gere and goyng to the offishall courte } x*s.*

To the vth article we sey that Robert Hewett and Richard Lane wer churche wardeyns in the seid parisshe in the firste yere of our seid sovereign lord the kyng, Robert Huett and Robert Edsawe in the second yere of the kyng wer churchewardeyns. In the thirde yere Robert Edsawe and Cristofer Mere were churchewardeyns. In the fourth yere Crystofer Mere and Thomas Goodchilde wer churchewardeyns. In the vth and vjth yere Thomas Goodchild and Henry Pynner wer churchewardeyns and all thes beying churche wardeyns never browte ne left eny thyng in the churche boxe and so the churche hath no redy money.

To the vijth and last article we sey that there be no goodes ymbesylled nor left out of the inventories nowe newly put in to our knowledge otherwise then afore is declared.

Sum rec. vij*s.* whiche is bestowed and more.

In witnesse wherof to these presentes indented as well we the seid commyssionors as the seid sidemen enterchangeable have sett our names the day and yere first above mencioned.

[ST. GEORGE, CROWHURST.]

Hundredum de Tandrige.

Crowherst in hundredo predicto.

William Cawsten, George Ridley } foremen.

The verdict of William Cawsten and George Ridley with the rest of the [same] jury by the names of sidemen geven up the xvijth day of October in the [sixth] yere of the reign of our sovereign lord Edwarde the vjth by the Grace [of God] of England Fraunce and Ireland Kynge defendour of the faith and in erthe of England and Ireland supreme hedd charged by the right wurshipfull [Sir] Thomas Caurden and Sir Thomas Sawnders Knightes, John Scott and [Nicholas] Leighe, esquyers by vertue of a commission from our said sovereign lorde [the king] bering date the [*blank*] daye of Maye in the said sixte

yere of his [Majesty's] reign directed unto the lord Marques of Northampton the lord [William] Howarde, Sir William Cecill, Sir Thomas Caurden, Sir Thomas Saunders, knightes, John Scott, Nicholas Leighe and Harry Polsted, esquyers as hereafter followeth according to the charge articulerlye.

Inprimis to the firste article of our charge we saye thus that John [Meddurst] and John Saunder were churchewardens of this said parishe in the first yere of the reign of our sovereigne lorde the kynge that now ys.

Item to the seconde we saye that all suche goodes plate jewels vestmentes belles and other ornamentes belongyng to the parishe of Crowherst are in the handes and custodie of suche persons as the inventorie hereunder written doth declare.

Item to the thirde we saye that the olde inventorie indented is lost and cannot as yet be founde.

Item to the fourthe we saie that the goodes kept deteyned, loste, solde or stollen syns the first inventorie made doth appeare in the new inventorye hereafter written what and how moche to whom and for what price when and for what cause by whome and whose consent any the same ornamentes are disposed and not furthcomyng according to the firste inventorie.

Item to the fiveth we saye that the wardens accomptes declared all bokes regesters escriptes and writinges examined delyvered unto us in and upon their accomptes it appeareth that all charges allowanees and reconynges accompted and allowed there remayneth dew unto the said churche or unto the wardens as lastelie doth appeare.

Item to the sixth we saye that the new inventorie hereunder written doth aunswer this article full.

Item to the seventh we saye that the goodes that were perloyned or negligently forgotten and not put in inventorie appeare in the new inventorie hereafter following.

This inventorie taken by the jurie aforesaid the xxxth day of September in the yere above written of all and every suche goodes jewels belles vestmentes with suche other ornamentes as doth or ought [to] apperteyne unto the parishe of Crowherst [as] followeth now remayning in the handes and charge of [*blank*].

Inprimis one chalis of sylver parcell gilte
Item ij copes one of them is of sattyn of bridges and the other redde and grene silke
Item ij vestimentes of the same sorte

Item a cross clothe of redde silke
Item a clothe of redde silke with blacke braunches
Item ij banner clothes of redde canvas
Item iiij aultar clothes and iij albes
Item one surples and v towels
Item ij lattyn candlestickes
Item a basyn with an ewer of latten
Item a fyer panne and a pixe of lattyn
Item a crismatorie of leade, a pax of leade
Item in the steple iij belles.

All whiche parcells above written are in the custodie of Edmund Stanford and Alleyn Fullour.

And we the jurie aforesaid affirme and saye that there hath ben nothing [else] solde of the churche goodes or embeiceilled or stollen other then is herafter mencioned that is to wite.

First solde by John Medhurst and John Lawnder churche wardens in the first yere to Reynolde Woodde smyth olde jyorn price xiiij*d.*

Item solde by Thomas Holloway and John Medhurst churchwardens betwen the second and the iiijth yeres of the reign of our said sovereigne lorde the kynge now beyng to one John Smyth a tynker a latten candelstick ... ... price ij*s.* viij*d.*
Item they solde to Thomas Gaynefford esquyer decessed x^{li} of wax ... ... price ij*s.*
Item solde by them a clothe of redde and grene silke to Sire Rowlande Holland curat there ... ... price v*js.*
Item stollen in their tyme ij olde crosses of latten
Item more solde by Edmund Stanforde and Aleyn Fullour churchwardens now beyng to John Cole a white cloth with redde spottes... ... ... price ij*s.*

And that they have laid out nothing els in reparations or other expenses about their churche more then is hereafter mentioned.

Inprimis laid out by Thomas Hollowey and John Medhurst aforesaid for a boke of Erasmus ... ... v*s.*
Item for a psalter boke ... ... ij*s.*
Item for whitelymyng of the churche ... ... iiij*s.*
Item for ij bell ropes ... ... ij*s.*

Sum. xiij*s.*

Item laid out upon the churche by John Medhurst and John Launder churchwardens for bourdyng the belfrey ... ... viij*s.*
Item laid out upon the churche by Edmunde Stanforde and Aleyn Fullour churchwardens for glasyng ... ... iiij*s.*

Item for white lether ... ... xij*d.*
Item at the visitation ... ... ij*s.*
Item more laid out about the churche bnysynes ... ... ij*s.*
Item for makyng of theis indentures ... ... ij*s.*
Item the churche oweth to Thomas Wynchester ... ij*s.* viiij*d.*

Summa totalis [*blank*].

And so all things accompted and discharged that remayneth dew unto [*blank*].

[*Two copies.*]

[ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, CROYDON.]

This is the inventory of the church goodes of Croydon the xix day of Marche the yere and raygne of Kyng Edward the syxt the thyrde made by the curat and church wardens as hereafter insuyth.

Item fyrst v belles and a lytle sanctes bell
Item a crosse of sylver and gylte with an ymage on every syde and the crucyfyx in the mydes
Item a cuppe of sylver and gylte to bere the sacrament in of the gyfte of William Warr
Item a chalyce with the patten clene gylte with a hande graven upon the patten
Item another chalyce parcell gylte with a crucyfyx in the fote and the paten wyth a Sen Johans hede in the mydes therof
Item another chalyce parcell gylte with a crucyfyx in the fote with brannchis on every syde
Item another chalyce parcell gylte with a crosse in the fote and the paten therof hath in the mydes Seynt Mygheli gylten
Item a pykes of sylver parcell gylte with a glasse on every syde
Item a new sencer of sylver parcell gylte with lyberds hedes gylte with a shipp and a spone parcell gylte with a byrde of sylver and gylte
Item a chalyce whych was lent unto Mr Thomas Heron the whych y^{s} kept frome the churche untyll this day
Item a pakes of sylver and gylte with the Trynite in the mydes gylte
Item two aulter clothes to the highe aulter for above and beneth of damaske and satten at the gyfte of the Frenshe quene
Item a rych cloth to the high aulter of the Passyon of Cryste set abouwte wyth peryls and of nedle worke at the gyfte of mystrys Morely
Item another ryche cloth to the high aulter of cloth of tyssue and crymsen velvat at the gyfte of mystres Redynge
Item ij aulter clothes of grene sarsnet brodred with flowers at the gyft of Elys Davys

Item an hole suet of vestmentes prest decon and subdeacon of satten brodred with letters of golde with abes and the aparrell thereto at the gyfte of mystres Redyng
Item a cope of the same at the gyfte of mystrys Redinge brodred with golde
Item a suet of vestmentes with a cope therto prest deakon and subdeacon at the gyfte of my Lord Moreton
Item a suet of vestmentes with iij copes of grene velvat prest deacon and subdeakon at the gyft of Elys Davye
Item ij copes of blake worstede with a vestment to the same the crosse of golde and red velvat withall the aparrell to the vestment for the prest
Item a vestment of red satten with a crosse of grene satten withall the aparrell therto
Item a vestment of tanny damaske with a crosse of velvat and all thinges therto
Item a vestment of red damaske with the aparrell therto
Item a vestment of red darnex with a grene crosse
Item a vestment of red velvat with a crosse of blak worsted with the aparrell therto
Item a vestment of gren sylke with lyons wrought with golde with the aparrell
Item ij canapy clothes that hanged over the pykes with viij knobbes of sylver upon theym and won of the clothes edgyd with golde
Item viij old copes remaynyng within the vestry
Item iiij olde vestymentes for decons ij white and ij old partes coloures
Item j whyte vestment for Lent with the aparrell therto
Item viij candlestykes, iiij grete and iiij small of latten
Item ij latten sencers
Item j aultercloth of dyaper contaynyng in lenght iiij yardes with staves of blew threde
Item an aultercloth of dyaper of vj yardes all playn
Item an aultercloth of v yardes wyth blew staves diaper
Item an aultercloth of iiij yardes of dyaper with iij blew staves
Item an aultercloth of dyaper of ix yardes all playne
Item a diaper aultercloth of ij yardes and more with blew strakes
Item a playne aultercloth of ij yardes
Item an old aultercloth of v yardes playne
Item another old aultercloth of ij yardes playne

Item a dyaper towell of v yardes
Item a dyaper towell of vj yardes
Item a dyaper towell of x yardes
Item a dyaper towell of xvj yardes
Item a dyaper towell of xij yardes with cheker worke
Item a dyaper towell of vij yardes
Item a dyaper towell of xiij yardes with blew in many placys
Item a dyaper towell of vij yardes playne
Item ij towelles won dyaper the other playne both but iij yardes
Item ij Lenten clothes of ij yardes apece

Item vj curten clothes
Item a payre of orgaynes
Item a deske of latten
Item a Byble
Item the paraphrasys of Erasmus
Item viij corporas casys with ij clothes
Item a crosse cloth of sylke

Endorsed—

Curat By me John Goodwyn curat

By me Hughe Davy

By me John aWoode of Addyscoom } churcli wardens

By me John More

By me John Smythe } counstables

By me John aWoode of Waddon

By me John Hatcher

By me Thomas Comport clarke

per nos { Johannem Scott / Nicholaum Leigh / Willelmum Saunder } commissioners.

[ST. MARY, HEADLEY.]

Hedlee.

.....aforeseid the articles to them exhibited by the seid commissioners.

To the first article we sey that Stephan Kemp and William Yong were churchwardens the first yere of the reign of our sovereign lord the kyng that nowe ys.

To the seconde and sixte article we sey that we bring in a just and true inventorye indented before mencioned and here unto anexed of all our churche goodes pl[ate] juelles vestmentes belles and ornamentes nowe remanyng to our churche and there be nor remayne any other goodes of our churche in any mans possession to our knowledge.

To the thirde article we sey we bryng in also the counter payne of the old inventorye of our churche goodes plate juelles and ornamentes late made and certyfyed to the kynges commissioners and other offycers of the late bysshopp of Wynchester for and of the premisses.

To the fourte article we sey that there ys and was sold by Rychard at Well and Rychard Wheler by the concent of the hole parisshe the xx daye of September in the thyrde yere of the reign of our sovereign lord the Kyng that nowe ys towe candylsteckes one paynted clothe and old wax whyche amounted in all to ... ... iij*s.* viij*d.*

Where of paid and bestowed as here after ensueth by the churchwardens nowe.

First paid for the boke of the Commen Prayer ... iij*s.* viij*d.*

M^d^ the seid churche beyng broken in the nyght and there was stolen and taken awaye ij vestmentes of sylke.

To the vth article we sey that the seid Stephan Kempe and William Yong churchewardens in the first yere of the reign of our sovereign lord the kyng that nowe ys whyche left nothyng in the churche box to the use of the seid churche ... ... n^l^

Rychard Tylbott and Thomas at Well churchewardens the seconde yere and left nothyng in the churche box ... ... n^l^

[Rychar]d at Well and Rychard Wheler churchewardens .....left nothyng in the churche box ... ... n^l^

[ST. BARTHOLOMEW, HORLEY.]

Hondrethe de Reygatt.

Horle.

Wylliam Bysche, John Woodman } formen.

The verdytt off Wylliam Bysche and John Woodman with the rest off the same jurye by the names off sydemen gyven up the xvij^th^ daye

off October in the vjth year off the reyne of our soverayn lord Edward the vjth by the grace off God off England, Fraunce and Ierland kyng deffendor off the faythe and in earthe off thys church off England and Ierland supreme hedd chargyd by the ryght worschepffull Sir Thomas Cawrden and Sir Thomas Saunders, knyghts, John Scott, Nicholas Leyghe esquyers by vertue off a commissyon from our sayd soverayn lord the kyng bearyng date the [*blank*] day off May in the sayd vjth yeare off his majestes reyn dyrectyd unto the Lord Marquas of Northehamton, the Lord Wylliam Howard Sir Wylliam Cecill Sir Thomas Cawrdyn Sir Thomas Saunders, knyghtes, John Scott Nicholas Leyghe and Henry Polsted, esquyers as hearaffter folowythe accordyng to the charge artyclerly.

1. Inprimis to the fyrst article of oure charge we saye thus that John Laschfford and Roger Topcell weare Churchewardens of thys parische of Horlay in the fyrst yeare of the reyn of [our] soverayn lord the kyng that nowe ys.

2. Item to the second we saye that all soche goodes plate juelles vestments belles and other ornamentes belonging to the sayd parysche churche of Horlay are in the handes and custody of soche persones as in the inventory heare under writyn yt dothe declare.

3. Item to the thyrd we saye that the old inventorye indentyd ys hearennder annexed receyved of the churche wardens that were chargyd with the same.

4. Item to the iiijth we saye that the goodes kept behynd lost sold or stolin syns the fyrst inventory made dothe appere in the newe inventorye heare after writyn whatt and howe moche to whom and for whatt price, when and for whatt cawse by whom and whose appoyntment any the same ornamentes are disposed and nott furthe commyng accordyng to the fyrst inventorye.

5. Item to the fyffe wee saye that the wardens accomptes declared all bokes regesters escryptes and writynges examyned and delyvered unto us in and upon ther accomptes ytt apyeyrethe that all charges alowanees and reconynges accompted and alowed there remaynethe due unto the churche wardens ..... nichill.

6. Item to the vjth we saye that the newe inventory heare under wrytyn dothe answere thys article full.

7. Item to the sevynthe we saye that the goodes that weare perloyned or necclygently forgotten and nott putt in inventorye appeyr in the newe inventory heareafter folowyng.

Thys inventory taken by us the jury afforsayd the xxx day off Septembre in the yeare above writyn off all and everye soche goodes juelles belles vestymentes with soche other ornamentes as dothe or ought to appertayn unto the parische off Horlay as folowythe nowe in the custodye and charge off Johanis Braye and Henrye Schowe beyng nowe churche wardens.

Inprimis towe chalyces off syllver
Item three vestymentes one off them ys red velvett and the other towe off single satten
Item towe coppys one off them ys off blewe vellvett the other ys olde and butt meane
Item a pax off copper and a pyx off lattyn
Item three corporaces with caces one off them blewe vellvett
Item a cross cloth off sylke and a holywater stocke off latyn
Item towe greate canstyckes and towe that stoode on the allter
Item iiij belles in the steple and iiij lytyll handbelles
Item xxv^{ti} latyn booles and iiij latyn armes off a latyn branche
Item a cross off lattyn and a crucyfyx off copper
Item iiij allter clothes
Item a pece of damaske that was on the pyeture off our ladye
Item three staynd banner clothes and a canapy clothe
Item a brass pan
Item an hersselothe with a whyte cross off sattyn
Item a payre off olde sensors off lattyn
Item three iern beames that servyd for lyghtes
Item a crysmatorye off pewter
Item tow syrplyces and a ratchett

M^{d} thatt appon the accomptes off Richard Hever and John Bray beyng churche wardens in the vth yeare off our soverayn lorde the kynges reyn that nowe ys ytt appayrethe unto us the sayd jurye that the sayd Rychard Hever and John Braye sold to a man off London xl^{li} off old wax for the sum off xx*s.* which remaynse nowe in the handes off John Bray and Henrye Schowe beyng nowe churche wardyns.

Item all the resydue off the parcelles above namyd remayn styll in the handes and charge and costodye off the sayd John Braye and Henry Schowe.

Item ther ys due unto the sayd wardyns for dyverse expences at the vysytacyon and other cowrtes for money by them layd oute, vj*s.* viij*d.*

Item for makyng these indentures, ij*s.*

So all thynges accomptyd and dischargyd remaynyth unto the sayd churche due by the sayd accomptes the sum off xj*s.* iiij*d.*

[ST. CATHERINE, MERSTHAM.]

1. Inprimis the first ar[ticle.....we saye thus that..... .....and John Bristowe we[re church] wardens of this said parish.....year of the reigne of our sovereigne .....the king that now is.

2. Item to the secounde we saye that all suche goodes plate juelles vestementtes belles and other ornamenttes belonginge to the parishe of Meystham are in the handes and custodie of soche persons as the inventorie here under written doth declare.

3. Item to the thrydde we saye that the olde inventorie indented is here under annexed receved of the churche wardens that were chargyd with the same.

4. Item to the fourthe we saye that the goodes kept deteyned lost sold or stolen sens the fyrst inventorye made doth appeare in the newe inventorye here after wrytten what and how moche to whom and whose appoyntment any the same ornamenttes are disposed and not furth compt according to the first inventory.

5. Item to the fyghte we saye that the churche wardens accomptes declared all bokes, regesters escriptes and wryttinges examined and delivered unto us in and upon theyr accomptes itt apperethe that all charges allowaunces and reconinges accompted and allowed theyr remayneth dew unto the churche wardens the summe of [*blank*]

6. Item to the sixte we saye that the new inventorie hereunder wrytten doth aunswer this artiele full.

7. Item to the seventhe we saye that the goodes that was perteyned or neeligently forgotten and not put in inventorye appeare in the new inventorie here after folowinge.

This inventory taken by us the jury aforeseyd the xxx^{ti} day of Septembre in the yeare above wrytten of all and every soche goodes juelles belles vestementtes with soche other ornamenttes as doth or ought to apperteyne unto the parishe of Meystham now in the custodye and charge of the said churche wardens.

Thys Indenture made the xxjth day of Marche in the thridd yeare of the reigne of oure Sovereigne lord King Edward the vjth bytwene the lord William Haward Thomas Saunder and Jamys Skynner esquyers, Syr Wyllyam Clerke euret of the parishe of Meystham John Bristowe and Rychard Kellyeke churche wardens Ryehard Best

John Gawton Thomas Allen inhabitaunttes within the same parishe of all manner of plate jewelles vestymenttes ornamenttes and belles remaynyng and being within the seyd churche in manner and forme folowinge.

Inprimis ij chalyeys of sylver parcell gylte
Item a pixe of sylver gylte
Item ij crossys of coper
Item ij copes of velvet wherof ons is of crymysyn velvet with angells of gold ynbroderyd on the same and a vestiment unto the same cope belonging
Item another of redd velvet
Item ij copes of grene sylk
Item ij vestymenttes of velvet wherof one is of tawny velvett and the other of blewe
Item one vestyment of blacke sylke
Item ij crosse clothes of grene sylke
Item ij tunakylls of sylke one of whyte and another of redd sylke
Item v corporas easys of sylke
Item a canapy of saye
Item in the stepull fyve greatt belles and in the churche ij small belles.

In wittnes wherof as well the seyd commyssioners as the sayd curate churche wardens and the other inhabitanttes have subscribed ther namys the day and yer above sayd.

John Brystowe, Rychard Kellycke, churche wardens, Rychard Best, John Gawton, Thomas Alen, sydemen, and Sir Wyllyam Clerke, curet of Meystham.

M^d^ that upon the accomptes of Rychard Kyllycke and Wyllyam Heth, churche wardens of Meystham foresayd in the thridd yeare of the reigne of our sovereigne lord the kinges Majestie that now is.

Receyttes that the sayd churche wardens recevyd.

Item they sold all theyr images of allabastur to John Frencheman of Horsseham for the summe of ... ... v*s.* viij*d.*
Item also they sold all the aulter stonys within the sayd churche to Rychard Best of Alderstede for ... ... xiij*s.* iiij*d.*
Item they sold all the latten bokes within the sayd churche to Morar the marcer of Croydon ... ... v*s.*
Item also they sold a tabernacle of Saynt John to Wyllyam Wynton of Meystham towne ... ... xij*d.*
Item also they sold the sepulcher and a wold chest to Robart Best xx*d.*

Sum.—xxvj*s.* viij*d.*

Paymenttes the same yeare above wrytten by the sayd churche wardens.

Item payd for polyng downe of the stepps in the chauncel and for hannsyng of the place for the Communion and for making a table formys with a dowbull chest wherin remaynes the regester boke which cost the sayd churche wardens xxx*s.* which was donne by the hole consent of the parishe.

Item the sayd churche wardens that now be do present that they have iij handbelles with a sanctissbell and a payr of great orgens in the sayd parishe churche which was last owt of the inventorye indented above namyd.

And all the residew of the parcelles above mencioned remayne stylle in the charge and custodye of now churche wardens ther.

Item ther is dew unto the sayd churche wardens for dyvers expences at visitacion and other courttes afore the Kinges Majestes commissioners for money by theym leyd out the some of ... v*js.* viij*d.*

Item for makyng theis indentures ... ... ij*s.*

So all things accompted and discharged
ther remayneth unto the sayd [*blank*]
dew by the sayd [*blank*] the summe of [*blank*].

[ST. MICHAEL, MICKLEHAM.]

..... to them exibited by the seid comyssionors.

To the first article we sey that Rawfe Arnold and William Leyver wer churchewardens of Myckelam the first yere of the reign of our sovereign lord the kyng that nowe ys.

To the seconde and sixt article we say this we bring in a just and true inventorye indented before mencioned and hernnto anexed of all our churche goodes plate juelles vestments belles and ornamentes nowe remanyng to our churche and there be nor remayn eny other goodes of our churche in eny mans possession to our knowledge.

To the thirde article we sey we bring in also the counterpayn of the old inventorie of our churche goodes plate juelles and ornamentes late made and certified to the kinges maiesties comyssionors and other offycers of the late bysshopp of Wynchester for and of the premisses.

To the fourthe article we sey that there is and was sold by Thomas at Wood and Rawfe Lucas by the concent of the holl parisshe the xxiiijth daye of August last past to Thomas Kytchyn goldsmyth of London one chalys of sylver weyng xiiij unces after iiij*s.* ix*d.* the unce for iij*li.* vj*s.* vj*d.* whereof paid and bestowed as hereafter ensueth by the churchewardens nowe being.

Fyrst paid by the seid churche wardeyns to Ambrose Turmore goyner for dressyng of the rodeloft for to tex and wryte upon ... ... vj*s.*

For one quarter of lyme ... ... xx*d.*

To [*blank*] Mawbanke mason for bemefyllyng and levyling of the walles of the seyd churche ... ... vs. iiij*d.*

To Thomas Humfrey laborer for serving of the seid mason xxj*d.*

.....

To the vth article we sey that the seid Rawfe Arnold and William Leyver churchewardeyns in the first yere of the reign of our sovereign lord the kyng that nowe ys whiche left nothyng in the churche box to the use of the seid church nl

William Leyver Thomas at Wood churchewardeyns the seconde yere left nothyng in the churche box nl

Thomas at Wood Rawfe Lucas churchewardeyns the thirde fourthe fyfte and sixte yere wyche lykewyse left nothing in the church box nl

To the vij and last article we sey that there be no goodes imbeselyd nor left out of the inventorye nowe put in before your mastershipps to our knowlege other wyse then afore ys declared.

Sum receyved in all iij*li.* vj*s.* vj*d.*
Sum paid in all iij*li.* xiij*s.* ix*d.*

And so the churche and parisshe do owe unto the nowe seid churchwardeyns the summe of vij*s.* iij*d.*

In wytnesse whereof to these presentes indented as well we the seid commissioners as the seid sydemen enterchaungeable have subscribed our names the day and yere first above mencioned.

[ST. MARY, OXTED.]

Hundredum de Tanridge.

William Causten } foremen.
George Ridlei }

Oxsted in the hundred aforesaid.

The verdict of William Causten and George Ridlei with the rest of the same jurye by the names of sidemen geven up the xvijth daie of October in the sixte year of the reigne of our sovereigne lorde Edward the sixte by the grace of God of Englonde Fraunce and Irlonde Kinge defendour of the faithe and in earthe of the churche of Englonde and Irlond supreme hedde, charged by the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Caurden and Sir Thomas Saunders Knightes John Scott and Nicholas Leighe esquiers by vertue of a commission from our said sovereigne lorde the kinge beringe date the [*blank*] day of May in the said six year of his Majestes reigne directed unto the lorde Marques of Northampton the lorde William Howard Sir William Cecill Sir Thomas Caurden and Sir Thomas Saunders knightes John Scott Nicholas Leighe and Harry Polsted esquiers, as herafter folowith according to the chardge articulerly.

1. Inprimis to the first article of our charge we saie thus that Robert Wood and John Milles wear churche wardens of this sayd parishe in the first year of the reigne of our sovereigne lorde the kinge that now is.

2. Item to the seconde we say that all soche goodes plate juelles vestmentes belles and other ornamentes belonging to the parishe of Oxsted are in the handes and custody of soche persons as the inventory herunder written doth declare.

3. Item to the thirde we say that the ould inventory indented is hereunder annexed, received of the churchewardens that wer charged with the same.

4. Item to the fourth we saie that the goodes kept, deteined, lost, sold or stolen sens the first inventory made doth appear in the new inventory herafter written, what and how moche, to whom and for what price, when and for what cause, by whom and whose appointment any the same ornamentes are disposed and not furth cominge according to the first inventorie.

5. Item to the fift we saie that the wardens accomptes declared all bookes regesters escriptes and writinges examined and delevered unto us in and upon their accomptes it appereth that all charges

allowances and reconinges accompted and allowed ther remayneth dewe unto the said churche the sume of [*blank*].

6. Item to the sixt we saie that the new inventory herunder written doth aunswer this article at full.

7. Item to the seventh we saie that the goodes that wer perloyned or negligently forgotten and not put in inventorie appear in the newe inventorye herafter folowing.

This inventory taken by the jury aforesaid the xxx [day of] September in the year above written of all and every [such] goodes juelles belles vestmentes with such other ornamentes [as] dothe or ought to apperteine unto the ..... as folowith now in the charge .....

Inprimis two chalices of silver.....
sold Item a coope of velvett
sold Item a cope of cloth of gold
Item a cope of silk
sold Item iiij corporous with their cases of.....
sold Item one vestment of velvett
one sold Item iiij vestmentes of silk
ij sold Item iiij tunakiltes for decons of silk
Item j hersteloth of red velvett appertening to the.....
Item ij croselothes of silk
Item iij stremours of silk
iiij lost Item viij aulter clothes
Item one vaile clothe
sold Item one bason of latten
sold Item j charger of pewter
sold Item ij great herst candlestickes of latten
sold Item ij pair of small candlestickes of latten
sold Item ij braunches of latten
sold Item xij boull candlestickes of latten
sold Item ij holy water pootes one latten the other bras
sold Item ij crosses of latten or copper
Item iiij great belles in the steple
sold Item j sanus bell
sold Item ij prosession belles
sold Item one sackring bell

M^d^ that we the jury aforesaid do saie that ther was [sold] by William Smith and William Broker churche wardens of the said parishe of Oxsted in the fourth and fift year of [the] Kinges Majestes reigne that now is unto one Taxsted of London founder one sanus bell..... two procession belles po3' xvj^lb^ with all other parcelles above written po3' in all togethers cl..... weight and receved for the same ..... lv .....

Also sold by the said William Smith and William Broker [to] one Robert Madder of London tailor one cope of ..... velvett one cope of clothe of gold upon satten one cope of red velvett one vestment of satten ij tunakelles of white satten iij corporous cases of velvet with corporous cloth in them and receved therfore of the the said Madder the summe of vj*li.* in full payment for the same.

All whiche parcelles above sold wer sold by the hoole assent and concent of all the parishe.

And also the said William Smith and William Broker rec[eived] of the other churchewardens before them in money dew unto the said churche the summe of xxx*s.* x*d.* — [*struck out.*]

So that the hoole summe of the money that thei are charged with all amounteth to the summe of — x*li.* vii*xx*viij*s.* vj*d.*

Wherof laid out by them and others their successours upon the reparacon of their said churche as appereth by their accomptes the summe of — viij*li.* xij*s.* 1*d.*

And for making of thies indentures ij*s.*

And so all thinges reconed and accompted ther is dew unto the said parishe churche by William Hayward and William Couper now wardens ther the summe of — xxxvj*s.*

[ST. PETER, PETERSHAM.]

Petersham yn the parysche of Kyngyston uppon Thames.

Thys inventorye indented made the xvj[th] day of Marche yn the thurde yere of the reigne of ower sovereyne lorde Edwarde the sixte by the grace of God of Englond France and [Ireland]..... .....esquyre and.....kynges maiesteis commyssyoners concernyng churche goodes on the one partye and Rafe Dynes the churchewarden, John Best the yonger Wylliam Dynes and John Style on the other partye wytnesseth that the saide churche goodes of Petersham aforesaid partyculerly dothe appere as hereafter folowith.

Inprimus one chales of sylver parcell gylt with the paten, and iij corporys with their casys

Item a pixe, a crosse, ij candelstyckes, an holy water pott, and a sensure all of latten

Item a crysmatorye and ij cruettes of pewter
Item ij sacryng belles and iij belles yn the steple
Item a crosse clothe of sarsnett
Item a vestment of done satten crossed with grene velvet with the albe and pareres
Item a grene satten vestment with his albe and pertynance
Item a bluwe vestment with grene sylkyn flowers and his albe and the apportynance
Item ij other olde vestmentes with their albys and pareres
Item a cope of grene branchyd damaske and embroydered, the offeres of redde branchid damaske
Item ij alter clothes paned with grene velvet and done satten
Item iij lynnyn clothes for the alter
Item ij towelles of dyaper and one playne towell

In wytnesse wherof the saide commyssioners as the said churche warden and other to these presentes indent have sett their handes yeven the day and yere abovesaid

Nicholas Leigh
William Saunder.

[ST. MARY, PUTNEY.]

Parochium de Putteney in Comitatu Surrey.

This is the inventory indented of all the plate juelles and belles within the parishe churche of Putency made betwene Sir Thomas Pope Robart Curson Knightes John Scotte esquier and John Eston esquyer commyssioners by commysion appoynted within the hundred of Brixton in the said countie of the one partie and Robart Rawlen curat of the same churche, Reynolde Melsham John Collyn and John Wood churche wardens of the said churche, Thomas Hamond Thomas Clarke John Clarke and John Baker sydemen of the said churche and the parisheners of the said parishe of the other parte made the xij day of Marche in the thurde yere of the reign of our sovereign lorde King Edward the sixte.

Inprimis ij challises parcell [gilt and a] crosse of wood plated with [silver]
Item a pixe of sylver parcel gilt
Item ij lyttil boxes of sylver
Item a cope of clothe of tysshew
Item iiij peces of hanginges of the same tysshew
Item a vestment of blake velvet with a crosse of clothe of golde
Item a vestment of cremson velvett with a crosse imbrodered
Item a vestment of blewe velvet imbrodered
Item a cope of white dammaske

Item a vestment of the same and ij hanginges of lyke
Item a cope of blewe damaske
Item a cope of grene dornex
Item a cope of bodkyn
Item a vestment of blewe damaske with a red crosse
Item a chesable of clothe of bodkyn
Item vestment of blake worsted
Item a vestment of blake brydges satten
Item a chesable of dornix
Item another chesable of bodkyn
Item ij tonnacles of darnixe for too deacons to were
Item a corpus case of blake velvet imbrodered
Item ij corpores one of white sylke and a other of red satten
Item ij corpores one of red velvet and the other of red satten
Item v belles in the stepull
Item a crosse of copper
Item ij hanginges of blake damaske for the alter
Item ij greate Standers of laten to sette tapers on
Item a cannybe clothe of silke

Robert Curson John Scott.

[ALL SAINTS, SANDERSTEAD.]

Saundersted.

Thys inventorie indented m[ade].....of Marche the third yere of the.....soveraigne lorde Edward the syxt.....John Scotte Nicholas Lighe and Wylliam Saunders gentilmen comissyoneres unto the kynges majesties highnes on the one partie and Sir Nicholas Somer clarke, curate of the parische of Sawndersted John Woodestocke of the water and John Woodstocke of the hill churche wardens and Seargeant Ownstede gentylman and John Woodestocke the elder sidemen of the seid parishe of Saunderstede dothe certyfie that these goodes and parcellys her folowyng do appertaigne and remayne unto the forsaide churche of the forenamed Sawnderstede.

Inprimis one chalice parcell gylte
Item one crosse coper and gylte
Item iij corporas casys with two clothes
Item two candelstickes of laten on the alter
Item two alter clothes playne
Item two hand towells playne
Item one crismatory of laten

Item one vestment of blewe saten the crosse redd with the picture of the Trinitie inbrodered with the albe and all other thinges aperteyninge to the same
Item one vestment blewe saten of bridges the crosse being blacke wodestode with all the apparell therto belongynge
Item one vestment the grownde grene wrought with golde wyre and lyons inbrodered with all therunto belongynge
Item one coope of saucenett with lions of golde inbrodered
Item iij baner clothes one of silke the other clothe
Item one crose clothe of silke
Item two belles in the steple
Item one broken bell for procession
Item one holywater stocke of laten
Item two masse bokes of paper printed
Item an Emanuel boke in pauchment wrytten
Item a latten sencer.

By me John Ownsted gent.
By me Nycholas Summer curate
By me John Woodstoke of the water
By me John Woodstoke of the hyll
By me John Woodstoke the elder

per nos { Johannem Scotte
Nicholaum Leigh
Willelmum Saunder. } By me John.

[ST. NICHOLAS, TOOTING GRAVENEY.]

This is the invitoris indentyd of all the plate juelles ornamentes belles within the paryche of Totyng Grauency made be twene Sir Tomas Pope Knyght Robart Curson knyght John Skote esquyer and John Eston Esquyer commycyonars by commycyon appoynttyd within the hundrede of Bryxton in the sayde cowntey of the one partey and Sir John Dannyell curat of the same churche Tomas Blake Wyllyam Hudzon wardayns Rychart Hole and Rychard Kyngeston syde men and parrysshionars of the othir partey made the xij day of Marche in the iij yere of ower soverreyng lorde Kyng Edward the vj.

M[d] Inprimis a cope of blewe velset sautten
Item a olde cope of rede satten of brydges
Item vestyment of blewe velset with all thinges therto belonggyng
Item a vestyment of blew satten with all thinges thereto belonggyng
Item hanggynges for the awter of whit and grene satten of brydges

Item ij challeeys of sylver and parcelles gylt
Item a crosse of latten
Item iij corporys with theyr cassis
Item ij candelstykes of latten
Item a bacyn and a yower of latten
Item iij smawle belles of that hanggyth in the styple
Item a bucket of latten for holly wattyr
Item ij auter clothis of dyapur

Robert Curson John Scotte.

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WALTER C. COBB, *Photo.*

BURNINGFOLD. View of Exterior.

face 61.

BURNINGFOLD IN DUNSFOLD.

BY

HENRY ELLIOT MALDEN, M.A.

THE name Burningfold is usually connected with charcoal-burning, as if it meant an enclosure in the Wealden forest where charcoal-burning was carried on. There were in the 16th and 17th centuries iron-works on and near the property, and charcoal was certainly used, and presumably made there. But I am indebted to the Rev. T. S. Cooper for the suggestion that the place may as well, or more likely, be named from an early English clan of Burningas, as Burningham in Norfolk probably was. Besides a doubtful derivation, there is another ambiguity possible about Burningfold, because as well as the place in Dunsfold parish, the subject of this article, there was a small property called Burningfold, in Haslemere. At a Court of the Borough of Haslemere, held 10th December, 1517, the death of Henry Farnden was presented. He held one tenement, 12 acres of arable, wood and meadow, with an *orto* (? garden), and one burgage holding called Burnyngfold, in the parish of Haslemere. But this small holding does not answer to the considerable Manor of Burningfold in Dunsfold. In 1572 this Burningfold in Haslemere is said to be mentioned in a deed; and in 1653, by a deed enrolled in the Court of Common Pleas.[1] John Balden, son and heir of Robert Balden of Haslemere, deceased, granted to John Child of Guildford two cottages erected in a parcel of meadow called

[1] Recovery Roll, 1653, Easter Term, m. 5.

Burningfold, and two closes of meadow called Burningfold, 5 acres, lying altogether in Haslemere.[1] There was a family named from Burningfold, and besides the holders of the Dunsfold Burningfold, or of some of it, whom we shall notice later, people of the name appear in Haslemere in the 14th and early-16th centuries. It is probable that the small Burningfold in Haslemere belonged to some of them once, and was really Burningfold's originally.

As in the 16th century a manor of Burningfold in Dunsfold was recognised, and as early in the 13th century Burningfold was a known place name, there can be little doubt that a family who were named de Brunningfold, or de Burningfold, or sometimes de Brunningwold, had been at some early time tenants of the land. But the earliest records know of no manor, only of a wood of Burningfold, and of an enclosure in this; and the family of Burningfold is not mentioned in connexion with this until the 14th century. The earliest mention of the name of the place is as follows: Manning and Bray, Vol. II, pp. 60, 61, state that in Hen. III, *i. e.*, 1228–29, John de Fay, who was lord of Bramley, granted to Roger de Bidun *unam purpresturam in silva de Bruniggefold et aliam in Witherfald*, consisting together of about 200 acres of wood or coppice, which the said Roger gave to Richard the Warden and to the Brethren of the Hospital of Sandon in Esher to hold of him, the said Roger, his heirs and assigns, by the yearly payment of one sparhawk or 12*d.* in money. They refer to a deed in the possession of Mr. Barrett of Wintershull, and to a fine of 13 Hen. III. In the same volume, on p. 750, under Sandon in Esher, they give a different account of the conditions of the tenure, referring to the fine of 13 Hen. III. The deed is not now known, and the fine cannot be found. But in 19 Hen. III, *i. e.*, 1234–5, there is a fine[2] which differs from both their accounts. Three weeks after Michaelmas (1235), Richard,

[1] Ex Inf. Mr. P. Woods.
[2] Feet of Fines, Surrey, 19 Hen. III, No. 9.

Prior of Sandon, *per* Gilbert de Mandon (? Sandon), chaplain, (*Quer.*) Roger de Bydon (*Def.*), 200 acres of wood in Bruningefaud and in Wytheresfaud, and 40*s.* rent in Ottewurth and in Chelewurth, and 1 mark of rent in Cugate. Roger acknowledges the right of the said Prior and of his church of Mandon (Sandon) in this land, to hold it of the said Roger and his heirs for ever, at a rent of 10 silver marks so long as Roger should live. After his death the Prior and his successors to be free from the payment of the 10 silver marks, but to have and to hold the wood and rents of Roger's heirs for ever, paying 18*d.* yearly at St. Peter ad Vincula for all services and dues. The Prior paid half a silver mark, as God's penny to clinch the bargain.

As Mr. Barrett's deed is not likely to have been invented, it is probable that there was a grant in 1229, and that the terms of it were modified in 1234–5, when additional rents were added to the 200 acres of wood. But the rents in Ottewurth (in Cranleigh) and in Chelewurth seem to have been secured by a further fine in 25 Hen. III.[1]

The Hospital at Sandon was continually in difficulties at a later period. In 1331 Bishop Stratford appointed a commission to inquire into the management, which we may translate as the mismanagement, of their estates, and the Prior had to resign. In 1338 all the Brethren were dead except the Prior. Some others joined the House, but they all died in 1349, in the Black Death, and after awhile the House was dissolved. It seems that they had parted with some at least of this property before the Commission was issued. On 20th Feb., 1320–21, Edward II confirmed to Ralph de Camoys that entire tenement called Wytherefold, in the parish of Duntefold, Surrey, which the king held of the gift of Oliver of Bordeaux, King's Yeoman.[2]

Manning and Bray, Vol. II, p. 85, say that Henry de Wintershull and his wife Felicia, about the time of

[1] Feet of Fines, Surrey, 25 Hen. III, No. 259.
[2] Pat. Rolls, 14 Edw. II, Part 2, m. 20.

Henry III, granted land called Monkeslond to Simon Brunnyngwold, reserving a yearly rent of 4*s*. and suit of court to the Manor of Wintershull. They refer to an "Original deed," but do not specify where it was. This Monkeslond may be the land formerly held by William the Monk and William de Holbyke in Frithwood, which Henry de Camois granted to a John Wintershull in the earlier part of the reign of Henry III. (From the same authority.) If so, it may have nothing to do with the Sandon land. But though the Brethren of Sandon Hospital were not, strictly speaking, monks, it is possible that the land once belonging to the religious house may have been called Monksland. But Manning and Bray seem certainly to be mistaken in saying that the grant of Henry and Felicia de Wintershull was "about the time of Henry III." There was, indeed, a Henry de Wintershull, who was contemporaneous with a Roger de Clare, who died after 1241 and well before 1250. This Henry, it is true, was contemporaneous with Henry III. He was "Sheriff of" Surrey in 1230–31. But according to their own pedigree of the Wintershull family[1] also based on "original deeds," the Henry de Wintershull who had a wife Felicia was grandson of a John de Wintershull who was aged 32 in 1287.[2] This would make them contemporaneous with Edward II or Edward III, and make Monkslond their property after Sandon Hospital had fallen into straits. It is at least improbable that two Henrys de Wintershull had each a wife Felicia, and a Simon de Brunyngefold, living in 1318, had been contemporary with this second Henry. Moreover, Felicia de Wintershull was holding land, presumably as a widow, in 1312–13.[3]

[1] Manning and Bray, II, 84.

[2] Was he not really son of John de Wintershull? Henry's wife was holding land in 1312–13, which suggests widowhood, and her son was in possession in 1319. Henry was dead before one or both of those dates, and his son could hardly have been of age to hold a court in 1319 if his great-grandfather had only been 32 in 1287.

[3] I. P. M., 6 Edw. II, 57: Manning and Bray, p. 86, give a wrong reference to 6 Edw. II, 43, and misread Felic.', *i.e.*, Felicia, into Felix de Wintershull, an otherwise unheard-of person.

It is certainly worth notice that Richard March, who held Burningfold Manor and died in 1583–4, also held land called "Parsons," of the Manor of Wintershull in Bramley, at a rent of 10*s.* 2*d.* and fealty. His Manor of Burningfold was not held of Wintershull but of Shalford Bradstane. This "Parsons" looks very like the grant of Henry de Wintershull, and if the Monks turned to Parsons in its name, so the Brethren may have previously turned to Monks, and "William the Monk" may have been Prior of Sandon.

The family of Burningfold are known before Simon received this land. In 1262–3 Richard de Burningfaud, as heir of Alan de Burningfaud his grandfather, claimed a toft and two acres of land in Bramley from Richard of Hyfaud (Ifold).[1] In 1271–2 Richard de Brenningefeld had land in Dunsfold settled on him and his wife Isabella.[2] In 1318 Simon de Brunyngefold was fined for non-attendance as a juror at Kingston.[3] He may be the same as the Simon who received Monkesland from Henry de Wintershull.

The earlier of these men may have held what was afterwards considered the Manor of Burningfold. But there is to some extent negative evidence that some of the name did not hold it in 1278. John de Brunyngefold, who had been a Baron of the Exchequer and Chancellor in Ireland, had died seised of land in Ireland. His heir was Ernald, son of his elder brother Richard of Tangeley, connecting him with this neighbourhood; but John had no land in Surrey, and Richard presumably was not of Burningfold as he is called of Tangeley.[4] This is also to a certain extent presumptive evidence against the grant of Monkesland to Simon de Brunningwold having been as early as Henry the Third's time. But that is certainly an error, whether Simon was connected with Ernald and John or not. Thomas of Brennyngfolde,

[1] Agarde's *Index to Pleas of the Crown and Assize Rolls*, Vol. 21, 154d, 47 Hen. III.

[2] Feet of Fines, 56 Hen. III, Surrey, No. 27.

[3] Assize Roll, 11 Edw. II, Surrey, No. 888, m. 57.

[4] I. P. M., 7 Edw. I, No. 77.

inhabitant of Haslemere, was fined for non-attendance at the Godalming Court Leet in 1357. Thomas Brenyngfolde had a suit in the Godalming Hundred Court in 1378. But he belongs to Haslemere; for Thomas and his wife Isabella, and his daughter Alice, were assessed to the Poll Tax in 1381, in Haslemere. John Brenyngfolde had had tenants in Chiddingfold before 1384–5, when the tenants of his former lands were to be distrained to attend the court. With this John, then recently dead, we seem to come into connexion, perhaps, with the Burningfold Manor in Dunsfold.

The connected history of the manor itself only begins in the 16th century, when it was held by the family of March, of the lord of Shalford Bradstane. But it is by no means impossible that the March family had been in possession for some time before that. A family of the name certainly had been living in the neighbourhood, and held land in Dunsfold.

In 1386–7 Robert March and Agnes his wife bought land in Kirdford (Sussex), Chiddingfold, and Dunsfold, from Robert Adam and Elizabeth his wife, with the reversion of the third part of a quarter of a house, which Joan, widow of John of Burningfold, was holding in dower. The lands were Elizabeth Adam's, who was probably a coheiress of John and Joan.[1] A fine of 2 Hen. IV, 4, may refer to part of the same lands in possession of another coheiress. But the March family and their lands pass out of sight for a time. In 1434 Robert Marche was one of three gentlemen in Dunsfold, the only three resident probably, sworn under a recent Act of Parliament, not to maintain peace-breakers.[2] Between 1487 and 1517 one Thomas Marche, a tenant of the Wintershull Manor, was frequently fined for non-attendance at the Courts Baron. This connects the March family already with land, perhaps Parsons, perhaps Monkesland, held of the Wintershull Manor. The Will of a Joan Marche, of Dunsfold, dated 10 March,

[1] Feet of Fines, Surrey, 10 Rich. II, 9, No. 84, in *Surrey Arch. Coll.*, "Feet of Fines."

[2] Pat. Roll, 12 Hen. VI, Pt. 2, m. 26.

1525, was proved in the Surrey Archdeacon's Court.[1] She ordained *Dirige* and mass for seven years, "with a drynkyng as I have kept y^t her^e before myself," for the souls of herself, her husband, and her son. Her living sons were Henry, William, and John. She was evidently a lady of some property, and distributed cattle among her sons, her daughters, her granddaughter, executors, and others. A John Marche, not her son, but possibly the son of her son William, held in 1548 a messuage called Burningfold in Dunsfold, late of William Marche, his father.[2] It is under the Survey of Bramley, as if held of Bramley Manor. The rent was 19*s.* 10*d.* The same John Marche held a parcel of land in Dunsfold called Danyells, rent 12*d.* There is land in Burningfold, extent not specified, and land with a blank left for the extent in Danyells. The supposed original of this fair copy of the survey has an erased entry to the same effect about Burningfold, and also about Danyells, with the curious variation of *unam parcellam terræ in Dunsfold quondam edificatam vocatam Danyells*.[3] It appears that something has dropped out about a *house* formerly built. The house called Burningfold is perhaps really in Danyells. The earlier part of it is older than this date.

That this John Marche was not the son of Joan, whose Will was proved in 1531–2, appears from his Will in 1552, for his mother was then living, married again to Robert Writt, and his sisters have not the same names as the daughters of Joan. But he was likely enough her grandson. Joan was an old woman in 1531–2, with a grand-daughter born of a living daughter, and apparently a widowed son-in-law besides. John Marche married Alice, daughter of Richard Bydon, or Bedon, of Hall Place, Shackleford. She was dead before 1552, when her husband made a Will, which is dated 24 July, 1552, but with no note of probate upon it. It is filed with the Wills of the Archdeacon's Court of Surrey. In

[1] Probate, Arch. Ct. Surrey, 20 March, 1531–2 ; *Mychell*, 202.
[2] Land Rev. Misc. Surveys, Vol. 190.
[3] Exchr. T. R. Misc. Books, Vol. 168, f. 67, *dorso*.

the Will there is no mention of Burningfold, but he leaves his Shackleford, Peperharow, Puttenham, and Compton lands to his son Thomas and his heirs, or in default, to his son Richard and his heirs, or in default, to his brother Henry and his heirs. Richard was presumably the elder son, on whom Burningfold was settled otherwise. Thomas seems not to have grown up. They were both children in 1552, for they were left in the guardianship of their grandfather Richard Bydon, and Richard seems to have married sixteen years later. The date of the death of John is unknown, but it was before 1559, when Richard Marche, Infant, was assessed to lands in Shackleford.[1] In February 1573–4, Richard Marche was owner of an iron forge in Dunsfold.[2] Richard then, however, was residing in Farnham. Early in 1570, Richard suffered a Recovery of the Manor of Burningfold, with appurtenances, 10 messuages, 10 cottages, 1 iron mill, 10 orchards, 10 gardens, 600 acres of land, 600 acres of meadow, 600 acres of pasture, 500 acres of wood, 500 acres of furze and heath, 500 acres of moor, 500 acres of marsh, 24*s.* 7*d.* rent, in Dunsfold, Godalming, Shackleford, Puttenham, Peperharow, East Compton (*i.e.*, Compton), Hurtmere, Dorking, Pleystowe, and Chiddingfold.[3] The amounts are clearly round numbers, and the inheritance seems to include what John had left to Thomas, presumably dead. It was probably connected with barring an entail, after the birth of his eldest son, William, who had been born on 11th July, 1569, to judge from his age at his father's death.

The iron mill is that mentioned in 1573–4, then farmed by Thomas Gratwicke. Dunsfold Forge is said to be owned by Richard Marche in 1588; this Richard was then dead, his second son Richard was under age, but this name as owner occurs in a list appended to a letter from the Council, which may

[1] Exch. Lay Subsidies, 1 Eliz., 185, 285.
[2] *Victoria History of Surrey*, II, 273.
[3] Recovery, Hilary, 12 Eliz., 1569–70.

not be quite up to date.[1] The iron mill turned out 164½ tons in three years, a little later than this.

This Richard pretty certainly improved the house, and added the fine timbered front which now forms such a striking feature of it. The style closely resembles that of Tangley Manor House, which is dated 1582. Richard died in 1584, but his son was a minor, and the fashion of building is possibly older than the time of the son's majority. The house in that case is due to the wealth of a landowner, who was also a flourishing iron-master. It is possible that this house is really on the holding called Danyells. In the erased passage in the Survey of Edward VI, with its apparent reference to a house at Danyells, the rent of Burningfold is 19*s.* 10*d.* and of Danyells 12*d.*, both under Bramley (*vide supra*). In the Inquisition of Richard Marche (*vide infra*), Danyells is held of Bramley at a rent of 20*s.* 10*d.* The two are clearly lumped together. As the manor was called Burningfold, the principal house may have been called the Manor house of Burningfold, though in fact on an adjacent holding.

At all events, Richard died 14th February, 1583–4. He was seised of the Manor of Brenyngfolde, *alias* Burnyngfolde, with appurtenances in the parish of Dunsfold, and in certain lands, &c., in Brenyngfolde called Danyelles, and in certain lands called Parsons in Burnyngfolde, one croft called Little Benham in Burnyngfold, and one messuage or tenement and certain lands pertaining to the said messuage in Shakleford, in the parishes of Godalmyng and Peperharow, called Woodbattes, &c., &c. The Manor of Brenyngfold is held of Viscount Montague, as of his Manor of Shalford Bradstane, by fealty and rent of 9*s.* 4*d.*; Danielle is held of John Carrell, as of his Manor of Bramley, by fealty and rent of 20*s.* 10*d.*; Parsons is held of William Wintershull, as of his Manor of Wintershull, by fealty and rent of 10*s.* 2*d.*; Benham of Giles Hull, as of his Manor of Hambledon, by fealty and rent of 12*d.*

[1] Loseley MSS., Letter of 31 October, 1588.

William March is son and heir, aged 14 years 7 months 3 days at his father's death.[1]

Richard left two sons, William and Richard. Richard purchased land in Shackleford about 1601 from John Paine,[2] and mortgaged it to John Machell of Poyle in 1602 (Deed 30 April, 1602). Richard was then of the Middle Temple, Gentleman.[3] He was perhaps acting for his brother William, who was owner soon afterwards. William also acquired Hall Place, Shackleford, the house of his great grandfather Richard Bydon, from the Vine family (descended from Katherine, daughter of Bydon, who married Richard Vine), and other property from the Parkers (descended from Margaret, eldest daughter of Richard Bydon, who married Gregory Parker).[4]

It is clear that William March got into difficulties. He was perhaps over-speculative, or perhaps his father had been extravagant and had spent too much on rebuilding his house. At any rate, William began to part with his newly-acquired property first and then with his inheritance besides. He first seems to have mortgaged his land to Richard Wyatt, citizen and carpenter, who afterwards founded Wyatt's Almshouses at Godalming, and to George Duncombe of the family well known in Bramley, Albury, Shalford and Ockley.[5] This was not a sale apparently, for some of or all the same lands are the subject of later transactions. In 1602-3,[6] he seems to have sold to Richard Wyatt a messuage, garden, orchard, 60 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, 20 acres of pasture, 2 acres of wood,

[1] Inq. P. M., Chancery II, 204/97, 23 Sept., 26 Eliz. 1584.

[2] Feet of Fines, Hilary, 44 Eliz.

[3] Close Roll, 44 Eliz., Pt. 26.

[4] Feet of Fines, Mich., 39–40 Eliz. 1597, Will. March and Antony Vine; and Mich., 40–41 Eliz. 1591, Will. March and John and Edward Parker.

[5] Feet of Fines, Mich., 44 & 45 Eliz., 1602, of lands in Burningfold, Dunsfold, Alfold, Hascombe, Chiddingfold, Hambledon, Shackleford, Eashing, Lidlinge (near Shackleford), Puttenham, Compton, Hurtmore, and Godalming.

[6] Feet of Fines, Hilary, 45 Eliz.

4*s.* rent, and common rights in Shackleford, Lidlinge, Puttenham, and Godalming; land which answers to the description of what Richard Marche had bought from John Paine, and which he had mortgaged to John Machell only a year before. He also sold Hall Place and its lands in Shackleford, in the occupation of William Vine, and Mondes Wood and Glovers Wood in Hambledon and Chiddingfold, to Wyatt.[1] The deed includes the transfer of the land of John Paine above. By another deed a fortnight later,[2] he conveyed to George Duncombe of Bramley, for £886, his manor, capital messuage, &c., of Burningfold; ironworks, forges and furnaces, land, &c., in Burningfold, Dunsfold, Alfold, Chiddingfold, and Hascombe; also Parson's land in Burningfold and Dunsfold, Jackes croftes in Alfold and Hascombe, and land in Kirdford, Sussex. So the March family passes out of the story, having apparently held land for about 200 years, with ups and downs of fortune, and increase, and then diminution, of property; a very similar career to that of many other families, and one prolonged to quite the usual limit. Few middle-class families in Surrey held the same land for over 200 years.

The ironworks of Burningfold seem to have passed into the hands of a syndicate, George Duncombe, John Middleton of Horsham, Richard Wyatt and Thomas Burdett of Abinger. By deed of 1 Dec. 1607, George Duncombe conveyed his fourth part to his three partners for £345 and 7½ tons of iron, both due to George Duncombe as a debt from William Marche. Twenty-two tons and a-half of iron in addition, also due to him, were guaranteed to George Duncombe by the three partners.[3] Middleton and Burdett were partners in other ventures. By his Will, 12 March, 1618–19, proved 11 Dec., 1619, Richard Wyatt left his third part of Burningfold to his third son Francis, who died in 1634, leaving children. But another son, Henry, claimed and

[1] Deed 4 May, 1604; Close Roll, 2 Jas. 1, Part 20.
[2] 17 May, 1604; Close Roll, 2 Jas. 1, Part 20.
[3] Close Roll, 6 Jas. I, Part 2, No. 29.

got it, for in 1625 he gave it as a security to George Duncombe for a loan of £50, describing it as manor, lands, &c., called Burningfold *alias* Danyells, which descended, &c., "and by right ought to descend" to the said Henry Wyatt by right of inheritance from his father.[1] The deed is of 1 June, 1625, and is to be void if Henry repaid Duncombe £54 : 10*s.* by 3 June, 1626. The interest, nine *per cent.*, and the small sum lent on such valuable consideration, show that Duncombe considered Henry's title poor or his character indifferent. But Henry kept the land then; it was freed to him in 1629,[2] and in 1638 he sold his third of the manor to Arthur Middleton, son of his father's partner.[3] Arthur Middleton died in November of the same year, seised of two-thirds of the manor of Burningfold.[4] This seems to take no account of the third just acquired from Henry Wyatt, for Arthur Middleton had two-thirds without that. In 1622 his father had conveyed two-thirds to him;[5] from which we gather that the Burdett third must have been previously acquired by John Middleton. The Wyatt third had perhaps so precarious a title that it was kept out of sight. But the heirs of Francis Wyatt never recovered it. In 1656–7 a deed was enrolled in Common Pleas,[6] by which Francis, Thomas and Edward Middleton, sons of Arthur, deceased, conveyed Burningfold, Parson's land, &c., to George Edmonds of Arundel —another son, Arthur Middleton, not being a party to the deed. It was, perhaps, only connected with a barring of the entail preparatory to a real sale. In 1657 the whole manor was sold by the Middletons to Henry, afterwards Sir Henry Goring, Bart.[7] All the

[1] Close Roll, 1 Chas. I, Part 19, No. 14. The Will of Margaret Wyatt, Henry's mother, in 1632, speaks of Henry "having had from "his brothers and sisters a great estate, more than his father's will and "mind was that he should have."

[2] Feet of Fines 15 June, 5 Ch. I, *Palmer's Index*, Vol. 76, p. 475.

[3] Feet of Fines, Trinity, 14 Chas. I.

[4] I. P. M., 14 Chas. I, Part 2, No. 124.

[5] Feet of Fines, Michaelmas, 20 Jas. I.

[6] Recovery Roll, Hilary, 1656, Roll 18.
Feet of Fines, Trinity, 1657.

sons of Arthur Middleton were parties to this fine. The ironworks were still going on; they are mentioned in the deed of 1656–7, and two mills were conveyed to Goring, iron mills most likely. Aubrey refers to them, 1673 *et ann. seqq*, and the 1730 edition of Camden's *Britannia* mentions them as existing then; but, perhaps, only copies Aubrey, for they were not then in fact still there, I believe. Sir Henry Goring died 1702, and was succeeded by his grandson, Sir Charles Goring. He died 1713, and was succeeded by his half-brother, Sir Harry Goring. In his time a curious transaction was set on foot about Burningfold, but never completed. During the height of the South Sea mania in 1720, James Colebrook, who seems to have been a speculator with nothing, arranged with Goring to buy the manor for Mr. Houlditch, a director of the South Sea Company, who was to transfer to Colebrook £2,000 South Sea Stock for the purpose. £2,000 South Sea Stock was then supposed to be worth £12,000, and Colebrook was to do the best he could for Houlditch and himself with the money. But the large quantity of timber on the estate was the most valuable part of it. It otherwise consisted now of two farms worth together £80 a year, so we may assume that Camden's *Britannia* of 1730 is wrong, and that the ironworks were in abeyance. Perhaps a South Sea director thought that he could start them again. However, the timber was valued for Houlditch at £6,666, and for Goring at £12,100. A price of £7,029 : 10*s*. was ultimately agreed upon for the estate and timber; the sum was to be paid to Goring by Houlditch, and Colebrook was to receive from or pay to Houlditch the difference between that sum and the value of £2,000 South Sea Stock when the business began. That, however, had now risen to £16,000. Houlditch transferred the Stock to Colebrook, and received back the stipulated difference of £4,970 : 10*s*., and Sir Harry Goring gave a receipt for £7,029 : 10*s*. and an undertaking to convey. But the bubble burst, and Sir Harry declined to convey.

Presumably he had not really got the money.[1] If we look into the reasons, it appears that Houlditch, like other South Sea directors, and like Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his dealings with Waverley Abbey,[2] was desirous to effect a purchase of land in exchange for stock, the value of which he doubted, in another name, so that he might throw the purchase upon Colebrook, if difficulties arose, and yet have the land to fall back upon in the future. For £2,000 Stock Houlditch was to get the land and £4,970 : 10*s*., Goring was to get £7,029 : 10*s*., and Colebrook, for his services as middleman, was to keep £4,000, if South Sea Stock kept up to 800 *per cent.* premium. We must not commiserate Colebrook, who deserved nothing, and, if he really paid Houlditch, must have have sold his stock at a large profit to do so. Goring kept his land, and Houlditch did not secure his retreat as a landed proprietor so cleverly as Aislabie did at Waverley.

In 1722 Goring sold Burningfold to John Tanner.[3] The manor then included 2 messuages, 100 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 500 acres of wood, 40 acres of heath and furze, 10*s*. rents. This is identical with what had been conveyed to Sir Henry Goring in 1657, except that the heath and furze was then represented by 40 acres covered with water, and there had been two mills, now gone. Clearly the head of water to work them had been drained. Tanner died in 1751.[4] His representatives, Manning and Bray, erroneously say he, sold to Viscount Montague in 1756. His son Antony is said by Manning and Bray to have sold it to Mr. Edmund Woods in 1768. He was a wealthy distiller of London, and friend of Gilbert White of Selborne. This again is a mistake. For in 1781, Antony Viscount Montague was borrowing money from Drummond's Bank on the security of the Manor of Burningfold. A deed was enrolled in the

[1] Manning and Bray, II, 61.
[2] *Vict. Hist. Surrey*, II, p. 624.
[3] Feet of Fines, Hilary, 8, G. I.
[4] Haslemere Registers.

Common Pleas[1] between Sir Richard Bedingfield, executor to the late Lord Montague, George Samuel Viscount Montague, and Edmund Woods, *Junior*, conveying the manor to the last named for £14,021. There is a Recovery of Easter Term, 20 Geo. III, Manor of Burningfold, John Forster[2] (*dem.*), Isaac Bargrave (*ten.*), Viscount Montague (*vouchee*), which I cannot explain. But it is certain, from the Deed and from the Land Tax Assessments, that Lord Montague only ceased to be owner after 1789, and that Mr. Woods was owner in 1790. He was son of the Mr. Woods whom Manning and Bray call the purchaser. He was of Shopwick, Sussex. He died in 1833, and his daughter Miss Charlotte Woods, was lady of the manor in 1850. She built and endowed the School on Dunsfold Green. The manor now belongs to Mr. Samuel Barrow, and the house is tenanted by Mr. C. T. A. Robertson. It is one of the finest examples in the county of a 16th-century timbered manor-house. In conclusion I must acknowledge invaluable help from Mr. P. Woods, of our Society, towards elucidating the history, especially of the March Family.

[1] Recovery Roll, Trinity Term, 30 George III, No. 257.

[2] Mr. Forster was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn who apparently drew the Deed of 1790.

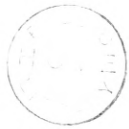
NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF BURNINGFOLD.

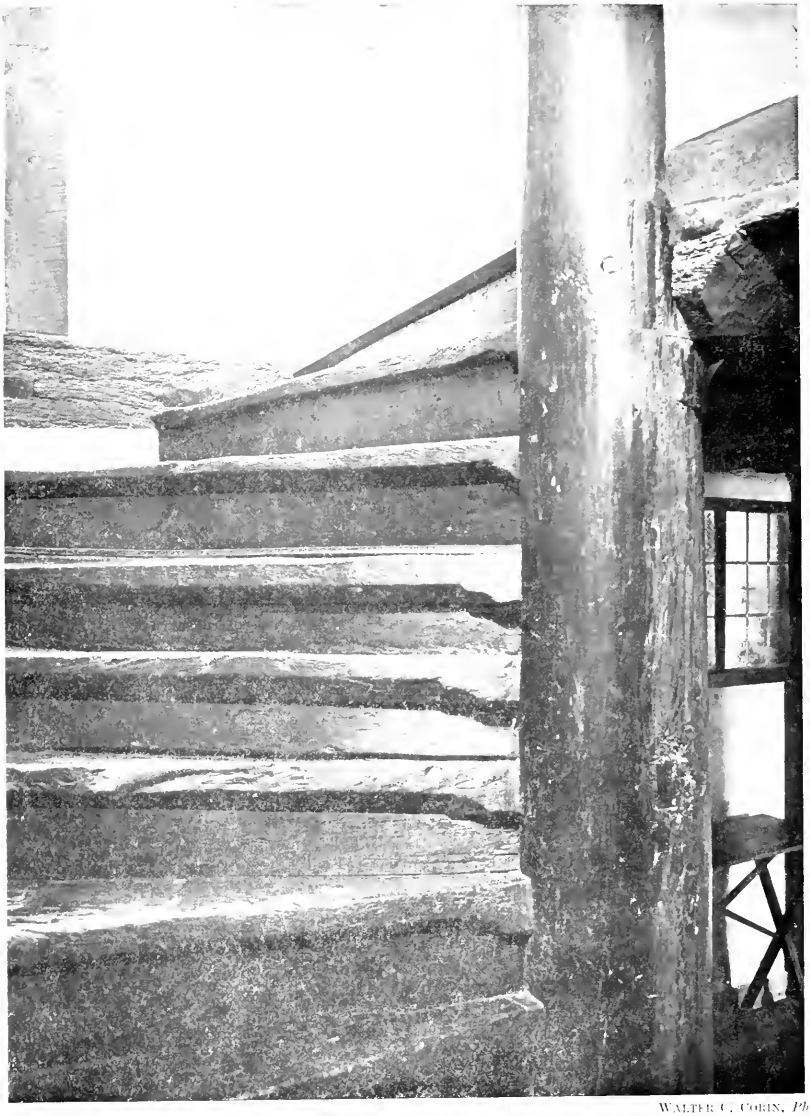
BY

PHILIP M. JOHNSTON, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

THE house at Burningfold is an interesting example of the process of enlargement and adaptation to the increased standards of comfort of succeeding generations. The germ of the existing building was probably a rude timber hall, with offices, and a solar or sleeping chamber for the lord; and some of its actual timbers may well have survived from at least the 13th century. It would probably have been practically reconstructed in the 15th century, and large parts of this work remain, with, as I have suggested, some still older timbers worked in—English oak being possessed of extraordinary lasting qualities. In the heart of the house is still the skeleton of the once open hall, now divided vertically and horizontally into rooms and floors. It is of the plainest construction, quite devoid of ornamental features—plain chamfers, with stops, are the only *criteria* among details of the age of the work—and these point to the 15th century as the general date. But of the front, an addition of the Elizabethan period (*c.* 1580), we can speak more positively, as it compares with dated examples, such as Great Tangley, where the curved quarterings in the timber construction are closely similar (*vide* accompanying illustration, fig. 1).[1] The overhanging upper story, with a plastered cove, a boldly moulded fascia to protect the ends of the projecting floor joists,

[1] *Cf.* also the old Manor House, Bramley, where there is a gabled two-storied porch, or staircase wing, in the courtyard exhibiting similar ornamental quarterings.





WALTER C. COBIN, *Photo.*

BURNINGFOLD: Staircase.

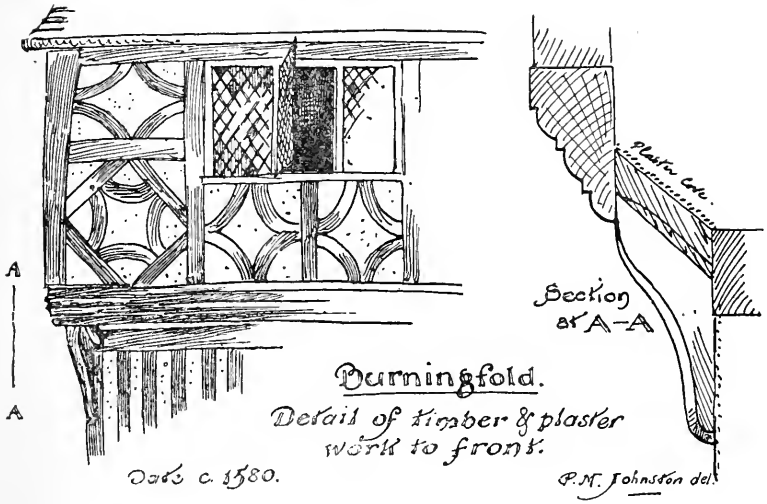


FIG. 1.

and a nicely-shaped bracket, are features worthy of special note. The windows in their present form are apparently 17th-century insertions. Unfortunately, the beauty of this front has been greatly marred by injudicious renovation, in which the beautiful silvery oak timbers have been coloured a horrid blue-black, and the plastering has been largely renewed.

In the interior of this Elizabethan portion several good moulded door-cases remain, displaying the characteristic section shown in fig. 2: and another feature, of peculiar interest, is the winding newel staircase, all in

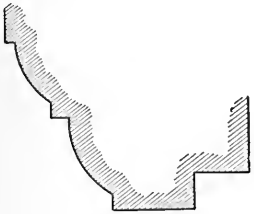


FIG. 2.
Elizabethan door-frames on 1st Floor.

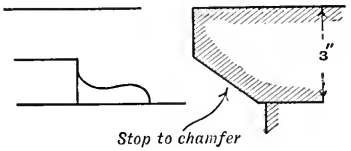


FIG. 3.
Stair-treads.

oak, with solid slabs, 3 inches thick for the treads. (Fig. 3.) These winding staircases are a local feature

of special interest, to which Mr. Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., draws attention in his book on *Old Cottages, etc., in Surrey*. I met with another example recently in an interesting old house called Bridge, in the neighbourhood of Haslemere, but just over the Sussex border. I was led by independent evidence to date this staircase, together with the wing in which it is contained, at about 1580: so that it compares interestingly with the Burningfold example. The tall rounded newel post, in one length, to serve the two or more floors, is common to both.

THE INVENTORY OF A SURREY FARMER, 1637.

BY

GEORGE CLINCH, F.S.A.Scot.

THE following is a transcript of an Inventory, dated 1637, which gives a good idea of the possessions of John Potter, a farmer living at Thorpe, in Surrey. There are several points in the list, brief as it is, which are well worthy of notice, because they help us to obtain an intimate knowledge of his home and household arrangements.

An Inventary of all and singular the goods chattells and debts of John Potter late while he lived of the parish of Thorpe in the County of Surrey deeceased taken and praised the vth day of June, Anno Dni. 1637, by Wm. Gormy Richard Freind and John Hudson as followeth vizt.

Inprimis his apparrell and ready money ...	x^{s}
In the hall.	
Item one cup-bord one long table a forme one eheare one stoole	xv^{s}
In the kitchen.	
Item one brasse pott two kettells one fire shouell one pare of tongs one pothanger one spitt one gridiron	xx^{s}
In the chamber.	
Item one bedstead ij chests and Curtaines ...	xx^{s}
In the lofts.	
Item two bedsteddles six peices of pewtar two pair of sheetes one table cloth (?)...	xx^{s}
Item other lumber	x^{s}
Item xviij aeres of corne	xvj^{li}
Item the kine two yearling Bullocks two Calues	viij^{li}

Item fiue horse with harnes	v^{li}
Item one long cart one dungcart a pair of harrowes and a plow	xl^{s}
Item two hoggs three sowes...	xv^{s}
Item one flitch of Bacon	x^{s}
Item one flockbed two couerletts	v^{s}
Sum̄a Totalis	xxxvii^{li} v^{s}.

Ext^{um} fuit hũmod Inuentar̃
p Annam Potter vid relcam
et Executricem ꝛc̃ decimo die Junii
Anno dñi 1637 pro vero et pleno
Inuentar̃ ꝛc̃ sub protestac̃oe tamen de
addo ꝛc̃ si ꝛc̃.

Wmus. Lock Reg^{rius}.

This Inventory was of course made for the purpose of probate, and I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. Challenor C. Smith, F.S.A., for the following copy of the Will itself, which is preserved at Somerset House.

Archdeaconry of Surrey, 431 Farmer, 1638.

In the Name of God Amen.

I, John Potter, of the towne of Thorpe, in the County of Su^{r}rey, being in body but of good memory doe make and ordayne this my last Will and Testam̃t in manner and forme followinge. First I bequeath my soule in to the hands of Almighty the Creato^{r} thereof And my body to the Earth to be decently buried in certayne hope of a Resurrec̃on thereof at the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ. Item concerninge my Temperall estate I giue and bequeath vnto my daughter Elizabeth Potter forty pounds to be payd vnto her when shee shall attayne vnto the age of twenty and one years. Item I giue and bequeath vnto my louing Wife Anne Potter my dwelling-house together wth the barnes and Stable and Orchard belonginge therevnto and all other my moueable goods and the residue of my estate quietly to enioye and possesse the same during the terme of her naturall life. And after her decease I will that the same shall be enioyed by my daughter Elizabeth Potter. And if she be at this p̃sent young wth child; then my Will is That the same Child shall enioye the same estate after the death of my daughter Elizabeth. And I Ordayne my Wife Ann Potter to be my sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testam^{t}. And my will is that all my debts be duly and truly payd by her out of this my estate. In Witness of all wch pticulars I ye sayd John Potter haue herevnto sett my hand and seale the twenty and fourth day of Maye in the yeare of our Lord 1637. The marke of John Potter sealed and deliu^{r}ed in the p̃sence of John Hudson—the marke of Richard Cave—ye marke of John Helder.

Proved 10th June 1637 by Anne Potter, relict.

These two documents show that the house was small, and consisted of two rooms on the ground floor, namely, a hall and a kitchen. A bedroom, called "the chamber" was over the hall, and lofts were over the kitchen. Stairs led from the hall to the chamber, and the lofts were reached by means of external stairs or even a ladder. The retention of the name "hall" for the living-room is noteworthy. The furniture in it was simple. There was a cupboard, perhaps under the stairs; a long table, or "board;" a chair for the farmer himself; a "stoole" for his wife; and a "forme" for the other members of the household who would all take their meals together at the same table.

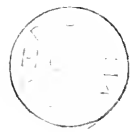
In the kitchen, where of course the cooking was done, there was a large open fire-place with fire-back and fire-dogs. The "brasse pott," kettles, fire shovel, tongs, pot-hanger, spit and gridiron, of the Inventory, enable one to form a vivid mental picture of the old-fashion fire-place. It is also probable that the kitchen was furnished with a brick oven for bread-baking, although the fact is naturally not mentioned in the Inventory.

The household consisted of John Potter, the farmer, and Anne Potter, his wife. The Will also mentions a daughter Elizabeth. Two or three of the unmarried farm-hands probably lived in the farmer's house, and the "bed-steaddles" in the loft were for their accommodation. It is noteworthy that, whilst the chamber contained a bedstead and curtains, the lofts contained bed-steaddles, not precisely a diminutive of bed-stead, but an inferior article, unprovided with head- and foot-boards. The lofts, too, had no curtains, because they had no window proper, only a dormer, or even an opening which could be closed by means of a wooden shutter. The daughter Elizabeth doubtless occupied the flock-bed named in the Inventory, which was made up in the kitchen.

From John Potter's Will it appears that his freehold property comprised the dwelling-house and out-buildings consisting of barns, stable for five horses, cow-houses, pig-sties, and probably sheds for farm-carts, tools, fuel,

etc. There was also an orchard belonging to the property. The "corne," mentioned in the Inventory, was doubtless growing in the fields at the time, on land which John Potter rented.

The Inventory and Will furnish an interesting glimpse of the effects and home of a Surrey farmer nearly three hundred years ago. In May, 1637, the old man became so unwell that he made his Will. By a curious accident the word "sick" was omitted from the regular phrase "being sick in body but of good memory," but before June, and when the green corn was waving in the May breezes, John Potter lay on his death-bed in "the chamber." The Will, to which the marks, and not names, of the testator and witnesses were affixed, was proved by Anne Potter, the relict of the farmer, on the 10th June, 1637.



FARLEY CHURCH S.E.

Ground Plan.

Scale of

FARLEY CHURCH, from South-East, as in 1823.

From Cracklow's "Churches of Surrey."

NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF FARLEY CHURCH.[1]

BY

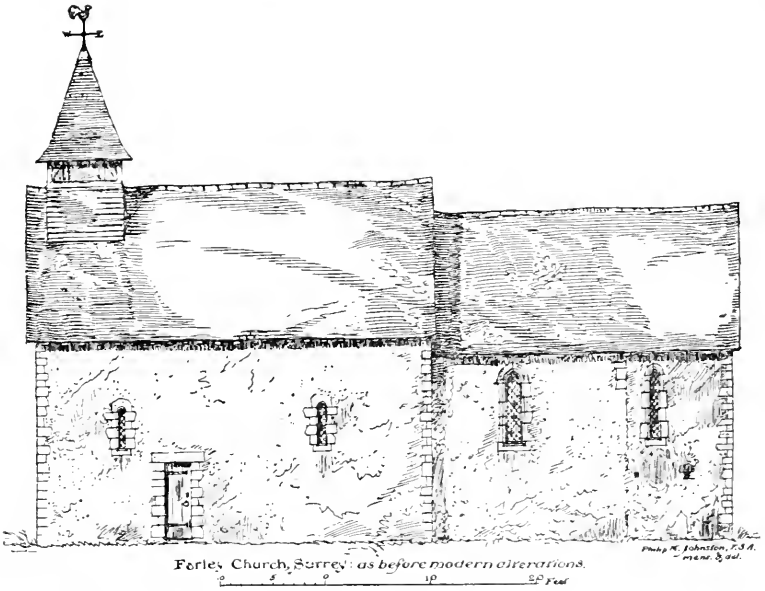
PHILIP MAINWARING JOHNSTON, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

THERE must have been a church at Farley (dedicated to St. Mary) as early as the close of the 11th century, judging by the style of the western doorway, which belongs to the Early-Norman period; probably this church was built by the first Norman lord after the Conquest: for *Domesday Book* (1086), which records the existence of churches that can be identified with those still remaining at Warlingham and Chelsham, makes no mention of a church at Farley (Ferlega, as it was then called[2]); an omission which is the more significant as Robert de Watevile held all three places under Richard de Tonbridge, lord of Clare.

Probably Robert de Watevile, who may well have lived in the moated house occupying the site of Farley Court, built the little church to serve the needs of himself and his tenants, and in its main lines it has come down to us almost unaltered. So remote and rural is the neighbourhood that it might be sixty, instead of only sixteen, miles from London. The church stands upon

[1] The following notes formed part of a report by the writer, in connection with a proposed scheme of repair and improvement, which has since been partly carried out under the supervision of our member, Mr. J. C. King, of 41, Easteheap, E.C., and the writer. It has so far proved disappointing, in that no ancient features have been brought to light.

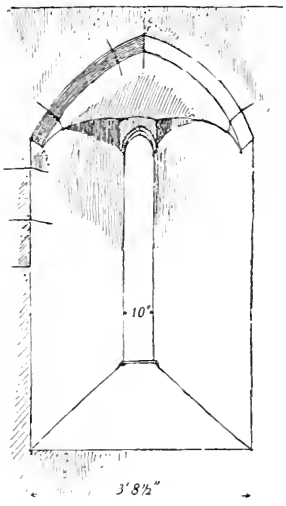
[2] In the Charter of Duke Alfred, 871—889, the name appears as FEARNLEGE, meaning probably the Fearn-lea, or Ferny-lea. "Ferny Field" is the name of a field in the parish. *S. A. C.*, VI, 209.



Forley Church, Surrey: as before modern alterations.

0 5 0 10 20 Feet

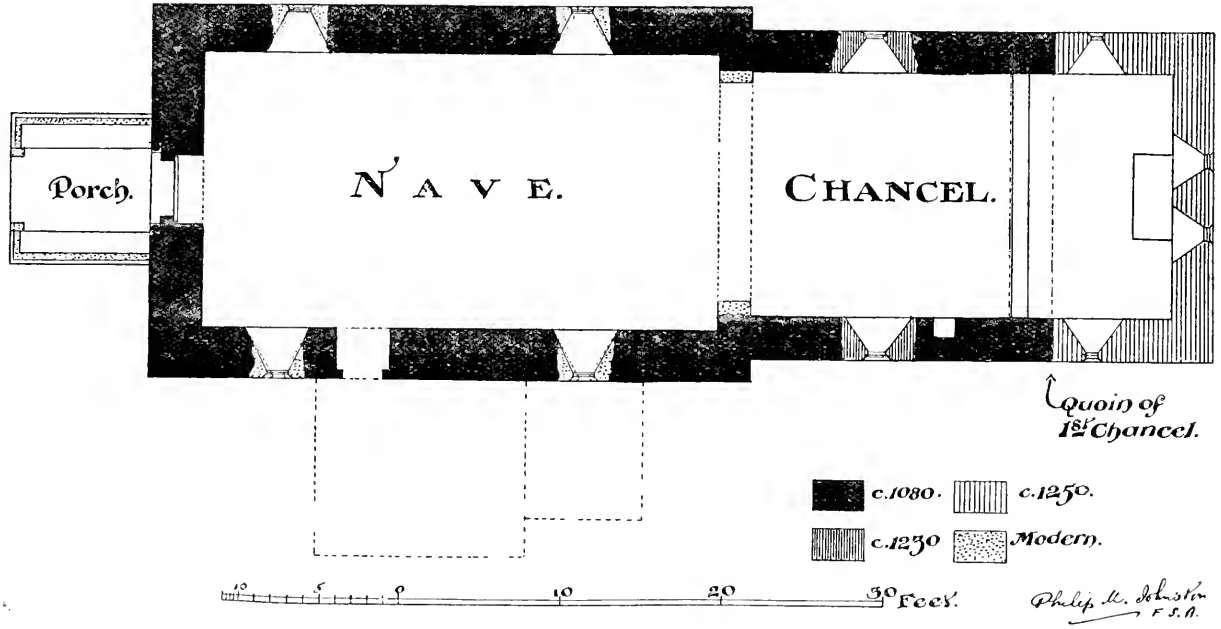
an elevated plateau, in a pleasantly shady churchyard, with an ancient yew close to its western end. It consists simply of a nave 32 ft. long by 17 ft. 1 in. wide, and chancel, originally 16 ft. by 15 ft. 2 in., but lengthened to 26 ft. internally in the 13th century. The western porch of timber, the wooden bell-turret, and the vestry on the south side of the nave are of modern date. The walls, which are unusually thick for so small a building —3 ft. in the nave, and 2 ft. 8 in. in the chancel — are built of field flints, plastered inside and out with dressings of local firestone. The quoins of the first east wall still remain behind the 13th-century plaster, as evidence of this



Forley Ch:
Eastern lancet on N. side of Chancel.

P.M.J. del.

Church of St Mary FARLEY.



extension, which must have taken place about 1250.[1] Both the nave and chancel roofs are modern, and of poor, flimsy design and construction; they are covered with tiles, as is also the spire of the modern bell-turret.

Slightly before 1250 wide lancets had been pierced in the Norman north and south walls of the chancel, replacing the smaller round-headed openings of the first work. The alteration in the external plastering still shows, after nearly seven hundred years, where these lancets were inserted, the first, or Norman, plastering being finished with a coat of a pale brown colour, while that of the 13th century is of a strong yellow shade. The walls of both dates were originally coated beneath the plaster with white lime-putty, traces of which appear in parts. The difference in the width of the western lancet windows of the chancel (about 14 in.) and those in the extension (about 10½ in.) is curious, and is in itself suggestive of two dates. There is variety also in the treatment of the openings, the western lancets being chamfered and rebated for the glazing, while all four eastern windows are grooved. The treatment of the east wall is somewhat unusual, there being two lancet windows, separately splayed on the inside, instead of the usual three, or triplet of lights within an enclosing arch.[2] There is a small oblong, rectangular stone recess in about the centre of the south wall of the chancel, answering to the probable position of the piscina of the Norman church, before its eastward extension. If the modern internal plaster were removed from the eastern part of this wall and of the north wall of the chancel, the 13th-century piscina and aumbry would almost certainly be found in the wall.[3] Some of the original "putlogs," or scaffold-

[1] At about which date the manor of Farley seems to have been conveyed to Walter de Merton, the founder of Merton College, Oxford. The advowson is still in the hands of Merton College. Tortington Priory, Sussex, which, by a curious coincidence, is now being excavated under the writer's supervision, appears to have held property in Farley in the 13th century.

[2] *Cf.* the east wall of Elsted Church, Sussex, where an exactly similar arrangement obtains.

[3] This has been done, but without finding these features.

pole holes, are to be seen in the walls of the eastern extension on the outside. The external stonework of the six lancet windows and the quoins in the chancel—the calcareous sandstone called "Godstone," or firestone—is nearly all original and in very fair preservation. In both the 11th- and 13th-century work the quoins are built of exceptionally small stones, yet they have stood very well, though somewhat decayed on the surface. It is well known that this firestone is not obtainable in very large blocks or is of too unequal a texture to be used except in small pieces. Parts of the two lancets in the east wall have been renewed in Bath stone. Strange to say, the heads of these two windows are nearly, if not quite, round, although those in the side walls of this eastern extension are pointed—a peculiarity to be found in one of the windows of the east triplet at Clymping and Upmarden, Sussex. Some of the internal stonework of these windows appears to be Caen. They are simply chamfered externally, and the internal arches, which are of pointed segmental form, are also chamfered with a square soffit dying into the splayed jambs.[1]

The chancel arch, acutely pointed, and of extremely ugly design, is an entirely modern feature. As in the sister churches of Warlingham and Chelsham, there was originally no structural division between nave and chancel, but only a beam, with above it a tympanum of timber and plaster, forming a background for the rood and its attendant images, and a screen below, against which were placed one or more side or chantry altars. Small and aisle-less though the church has always been, yet besides the high altar there must have been at least one, perhaps two, of these chantry altars until 1549, for in the second of the Edwardian inventories made in that year, we have the entry:—

"Item iij awter clothes y^{t} engys beffo^{r} the awters." [2]

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[1] It is interesting to compare this treatment with the much richer moulded rear-arches of the lancets in Warlingham Church hard by. *Vide S. A. C.*, XIV, 109–10.

[2] *I.e.*, "Three altar cloths that hang before the altars"—*viz.*, before the high altar and the two lesser altars. When the neighbouring church

It is practically certain that a piscina exists in the south wall of nave, behind the modern pulpit, for the use of one of these rood-loft altars.

It is also certain that there was a chancel screen beneath the great rood, and that it was crowned with a beam or loft, on which were placed the "ix candlesticks of tynne," or, perhaps, the "iij candlesticks bolles [bowls] of latten," mentioned in the inventory. In the same inventory "a Lent clothe of canvas steyned with blew and red spottes" is set down among the church goods This was a curtain or veil hung before the altar during Lent. Another item is "a sepulcar cloth of red and grene sylke," which was used in connection with the Easter sepulchre, a feature which took the form of a wall recess or a movable wooden structure in connection with the ceremonies of Maundy Thursday and Easter. This recess, where it existed, was usually in the north wall of a chancel or chapel.

Mention is made of "iij belles in the steple" and "a sacryng belle"—a small bell, perhaps hung at the east gable of the nave, or a handbell, to be used at the elevation of the Host. At present there is only one bell in the timber turret at the west end. It is somewhat large—29 inches in diameter—and bears the inscription—

IOHN HODSON MADE ME 1663. IM ID CW.

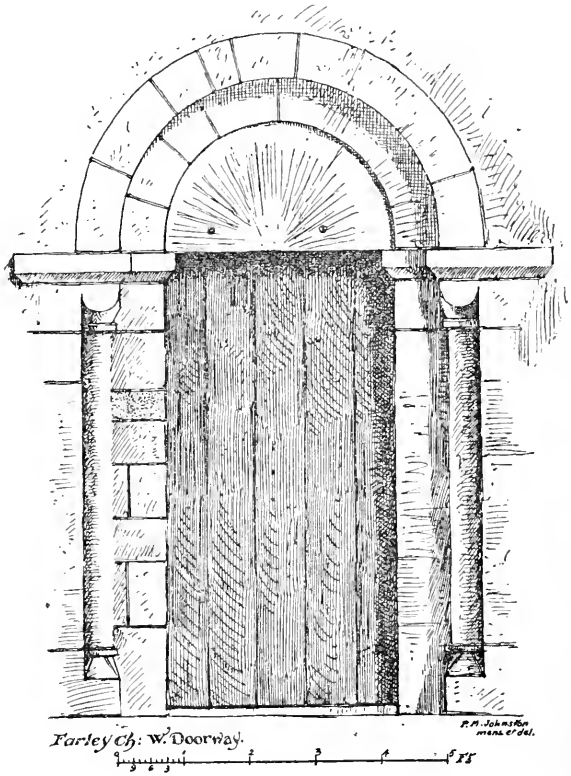
—the initials being probably those of the then vicar and churchwardens.

The turret in which this bell hangs is quite modern, dating from a "restoration" of some 50 years ago. No turret is shown in Cracklow's view of the church published in 1823; but the "steple" mentioned in the inventory of Edward VI, must in all probability have been a timber structure, capped with a spirelet, covered with oak shingles. There was a brisk trade in cleaving

of Warlingham was restored by the writer, conclusive evidence of three altars were found in the shape of piscinas, one for the high altar and one in either wall of the nave where the altars stood against the rood screen,—this also in an aisle-less church.

these oak shingles and the making of iron nails at Farley, in the Middle Ages.

The nave has, unhappily, suffered even more than the chancel in the so-called "restoration" of half-a-century ago. The narrow Norman windows, two on either side of the nave, seem to have been both widened and heightened, and their stone work re-tooled at this



time. Originally the splays probably ran out to a feather-edge, and then the narrow loop was finished with a chamfer, the openings being unglazed and merely stopped by a shutter on the weather side. The outer openings appear to be of entirely new

stones. On the other hand, the wide round-headed window high up in the west gable appears to be in its original state, as does the small square-headed doorway in the south wall, now opening into the modern vestry;[1] and the west doorway, a particularly interesting feature, save for some unfortunate re-tooling of the stonework, is apparently in an unaltered state. It has square-edged arches of two orders, enclosing a plain tympanum. The outer order has a shaft in the jamb, with a cushion capital having a chamfered abacus, which continues as an impost across the square inner order of the jamb. The base is of a characteristic form. Western doorways seem to have been more common in the Early-Norman period than in the later phases of the style. In Surrey, at any rate, we have examples in the west wall at Mickleham, Ewhurst, and Woking, both dating from about 1100.[2]

The font, pulpit, seating and other furniture are all modern, as is also the glazing of the windows. The chest mentioned in one of the Edwardian inventories is no longer to be found.

In the chancel are two monuments of some interest, both now mural, but originally slabs in the chancel floor. That on the south wall is a long stone, bearing the small brass effigies of John Brock, citizen and poulterer of London, who died the first day of May, 1495, and of his wife; below them being a group of four sons under the father and one daughter under the mother. The man's figure, which is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, is dressed in the long gown worn by merchants, with a string of beads depending from his girdle. The wife's effigy is one inch shorter, and she wears the gabled head-dress then coming into fashion. The inscription reads:—

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[1] Square-headed doorways of this period are not very usual. Burpham and Hardham Churches, Sussex, are other examples. The internal opening has a round arch. Cracklow's view seems to show a pointed arch externally.

[2] There are south doorways of about this date at Ewhurst and Witley, and a north doorway of *c.* 1121, at Merton.

"Hic jacent Johēs Brock Ciuis dum vixit et Pult'er london et Ann vxor eius qui q'dm̄ Johēs obiit primo die mensis Maii A° domini Millmo CCCClxxxxv° quorum āiab's p'piciet' deus amē."[1]

On a marble ledger, against the north wall, but formerly, according to the county historians, "under the altar," is the inscription to Dr. Samuel Bernard, who died in 1657, his widow surviving nearly half-a-century. From the expression, "*vir nullo fœdere fœdatus*"—"a man stained by no covenant"—it has been conjectured that he was exposed to persecution for refusing to sign the Solemn League and Covenant in the Great Rebellion, *c.* 1644. The arms of Bernard on the stone are:—[*Argent*] *on a bend* [*azure*] *three escallops* [*of the field*].

SAMVEL BERNARDVS
SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ DOCTOR
PASTOR FIDVS, VIR NVLLO FŒDERE FŒDATVS
HIC RESVRRECTIONEM EXPECTAT

CVRSVM PEREGIT AVGVST: V 1657
Æ: 67

HEIC ETIAM
ELIZABETHÆ
UXORIS EJUS DESIDERATISSIMÆ
CONQUIESCUNT RELIQUIÆ
QUÆ POSTQUAM VIDUATAM VITAM ANNOS 48
RELIGIOSISSIME EGISSET
TANDEM OBDORMIVIT IN CHRISTO
SEPT: 8. 1705,
ANNOS NATA
96.

The other monuments in the church and churchyard are of no great antiquity or interest.

[1] The wife's name, owing to a rivet in the plate, is somewhat uncertain. It may be Ann, Anne, or Amie.

FARLEY CHURCH: Brass to John and Ann Brock.

ON A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY RENTAL OF THE PRINCIPAL MANOR OF GODALMING;

WITH SOME REMARKS ON COTHOLDERS.

BY

P. WOODS, C.B.

THE writer of this paper is deeply indebted to the late Wm. More Molyneux, Esq., for opportunities of access to the collection of Losely Charters and MSS., in which a copy of, or extract from, the Rental has been preserved,[1] and from which much of the following information has been obtained: and also to Lieut. and Mrs. More Molyneux McCowen, for further opportunities of checking and enlarging his original notes, and for their permission to publish the Rental.

The details of the Rental are written in a late 16th- or early 17th-century character, on a small-sized sheet of foolscap paper, folded in the usual manner into four pages: and the marginal notes were evidently inserted soon after by a different hand and in more durable ink.

Neither the name of the manor, nor the dates of the original compilation, copy, or marginal notes, are recorded; but there is no doubt that the lands, &c., comprised in the statement, were held of the principal Manor of Godalming: and there is strong internal evidence that the Rental relates to a period, *c.* 1320–40, or earlier, and that the marginal notes apply to tenants, &c., *c.* 1598—1608.

[1] The marginal notes contain so many references to Prepositors, or Reeves, that it may be conjectured that the copy was made for the purpose of identifying the later owners of lands, &c., which entailed Reeve service, *i. e.*, the Collection of the Lord's rents, &c. Whether or not the Rental contains the names of all the tenants of the 14th century is doubtful.

DATE OF ORIGINAL RENTAL.

Unfortunately most of the early rolls of the three-weekly Hundred Courts, and less frequent Views of Frank-pledge, &c., have either perished or disappeared: the earliest dating only from the Hundred or Manorial year 1339–40.[1] Such records, however, as are still forthcoming, taken in conjunction with a partly illegible assessment to an aid, *c.* 1332,[2] a more complete assessment to the Poll Tax, *c.* 1380–1,[3] and the "de Banco" Rolls, Fines, &c., go far to show that the origin Rental must have been compiled before 1350.

In the absence of a complete series of manorial rolls, it cannot be stated with certainty that the majority of the tenants named in the list might not have been traced in missing records subsequent to 1339–40; but, so far as the examination of available documentary evidence extends, and so far as identity of name implies identity of person, the tenants referred to in the Rental are for the most part discoverable before rather than after that year.

There are, it is true, indications to the contrary, *e.g.*, the names of Robert Payn and Walter atte Burgh, two of the tenants, are found in combination in 1367,[4] and have not been traced prior to 1339–40. Robert Payn was, however, a name common to several centuries; and, although a Robert atte Bergh was Reeve in October, 1339, presumably in respect of the tenement called the "Burgh," it is quite possible that the Walter of 1367 may have had a predecessor of the same name, prior to the said Robert of 1339.

On the other hand, there are strong grounds for believing that Margery of Pyperham and William of Enyton, two other of the custumal tenants, had died

[1] The Hundred year seems to have ended at Michaelmas. Fines were paid for release from suitors' service up to that date.

[2] Aid granted 6 Edw. III, Exch. Lay Subs. 184/4.

[3] Poll Tax under Act 4 Rich. II, Exch. Lay Subs. 184/29.

[4] Hundred Court, 23 Sept., 41 Edw. III.

before 1339–40. The records of the Hundred Courts of October and November, 1339, contain entries of proceedings taken by one John of Piperham against the EXECUTOR of a MARGERY OF PIPERHAM: and the death of WILLIAM OF ENYTON probably occurred between 1309 and 1339. At any rate, one WILLIAM OF ENYTON and his wife Julia were parties to a Fine relating to a messuage and lands in Chiddingfold, in Trinity Term, 2 Edw. II; in 1332, one Julia of Eneton was assessed to the subsidy,[1] and, at a Hundred Court, held in December, 1339, a Julia of Eneton gave 13*s.* 4*d.* for admission into a fifth part of the tenement of WILLIAM OF ENETON, which her daughter [filia sua] Joan had surrendered to her.

Again, HENRY LE JOUR, ROBERT OF HEYSULLEBRYG, ROBERT OF MONSTEDE, ADAM LE MASON, RICHARD ATTE MULLE, and JOHN COCKEL, are all names traceable in the assessment, *c.* 1332. RICHARD LE HEN is probably identical with RICHARD LE HAN named in that assessment, and with RICHARD LE HEN who, with others, was fined in 1325 for failure to attend the Surrey Assizes as Juryman,[2] and also with RICHARD LE HEN who, with another man, was fined at the Hundred Court, on 16th December, 1339, for not having 30 hogrels or young sheep [bidentes], worth 30*s.* which they had bailed as the heriot of one Thomas Godard lately deceased, and which remained up to that time on their assurance [quos manicep̃ p̄ heryett̃ Thom̃ Godard nup̄ defūcti q̃d quidem heryet remansit usq; adhuc p̄ plevinam ip̄oꝝ Ric̃i, &c.].

The name of WALTER OF MONSTEDE [or Munstede] is common to more than one individual and century. It occurs as a witness to a 13th-century deed,[3] by which William, son of Sybil of Bunelithe, grants land there to Richard the French born [*Francigena*] of Heshurst: and also in 1234–5,[4] as surety for Richard le Loc, when

[1] Lay Subs., 184/4. [2] Assize Roll, Surr., No. 888, m. 16.

[3] Add Ch., Brit. Mus., 27,720. Bunelith or Bonelith is probably an early form of Bowlhead, Thursley.

[4] Placit. de Jur. & Assiz., 19 Henry III [*Agard's Index*, Vol. 21, page 88*d*].

appointed Receiver of the rents, &c., of the lands of Richard, son of William of Bonelith. In 1320 a WALTER OF MUNSTED and others were charged with disseising John of Kyngessnode of his tenement in Bramley and Godalming,[1] and in 1339-40 WALTER OF MONSTEDE acted as apparator at several of the Godalming Hundred Courts. The same name occurs as a witness to a deed of 13th January, 1341–2, to which Richard, son of ROBERT OF MUNSTED, was a party.[2] The assessment, *c.* 1332, contains the names of William, Alice, ROBERT, and Henry of Monstede, but no WALTER can be traced.

By a deed of 4 January, 1295–6,[3] one WALTER OF WALETON is granted a piece of land at Essyngge, in a field called the "Longge Londe," and RICHARD OF WESTEBROKE is witness thereto. Neither of these names can be traced in the assessment, *c.* 1332; but Margery of Waleton, John of Waleton, and Robert Westebrok, are found under Godalming, and Robert of Westebrok under Witley. The Waletons are then lost sight of, and the identity of the Westbroks is uncertain. RICHARD OF WESTEBROKE, the tenant named in the Rental, was, however, probably the witness of 1295–6, and there is strong reason to believe that he was party to some proceedings relating to land, carried on at the Surrey Assizes in 1327, between RICHARD OF WESTBROK and Richard le Frensh of Chiddingfold;[4] and that he was the Father of Robert of Westbrok, who claimed a messuage, &c., in Godalming from Richard le Frensshe of Chiddingfold in 1328;[5] which messuage, &c., was settled by the said Robert, in conjunction with his wife Bona, in 1333.[6] This became the subject of a subsequent lawsuit in 1383.[7]

[1] Assize Roll, Surr., No. 888, m. 37.
[2] Add. Ch., Brit. Mus., 27,754.
[3] Losely Ch.
[4] Assize Roll, Surr., No. 888, m. 7, Mich. Term, 1 Edw. III.
[5] Placit. de Banco, Roll 275, m. 185, Mich. Term, 2 Edw. III.
[6] Fine, Surr., Tr. Term, 6–7 Edw. III [a die Sc̃i John Bapt̃e in 15 dies, 7 Edw. III. Rich. le Frensshe of Chuddingfold, appōn clam̃ suũ].
[7] De Banco Roll 491, m. 578 d., Mich. Term, 7 Rich. II.

DATE OF MARGINAL NAMES.

Many of the names noted on the margin of the (copy) Rental can be traced in the records, &c., of the Godalming Manor, *c.* 1600, and the approximate date may be assigned to the period 1598 to 1608. The reference to WILLIAM MARCH *late* PARKER, indicates 1598 as the earliest limit; because, in that year, John and Edward Parker levied a fine of property in Shackleford, &c., to William March,[1] who conveyed his estate in that neighbourhood to Richard Wyatt about 1604.[2] The latest limit cannot be much later than the burials of two other of the tenants, viz., Thomas Compton, in May, 1606, and John Eliot, in January, 1607–8.[3]

RENTS AND SERVICES.

The rents and services by which the tenants held their lands at the time of the compilation of the rental are for the most part of an ordinary character, though of sufficient interest to collectors of local history to justify publication; but the services required to be rendered by Ralph Besannt and other cotholders [cotarij] in connection with the custody and conveyance of prisoners to the King's Gaol at Guildford Castle, and their contingent liability to act as executioners, within the Liberty of Godalming, are of more exceptional character; and it may be instructive as well as interesting to call attention to a few details of their tenure, which may be gathered from the records of the superior Courts of Law, &c., and of the Hundred and Manorial Courts of Godalming.

[1] Fine, Mich. Term, 40 & 41 Eliz.
[2] Close Roll, 2 James I, Part 20, and Recovery, Easter Term, 3 James I.
[3] Godalming Church Reg.

COTHOLDERS.

The holders of Cotlands are described in the Rental as "Cotarij," and there is one instance[1] in which they are referred to as "Coterelli," although perhaps in error.

The Cotlands were transferred by surrender to the Lord, and admission of the new tenant, who was required to pay a fine and to do his fealty. Heriots were due at death, but the cotholders, as such, do not appear to have been liable to serve as Reeves or as suitors at the Hundred Courts.

The following are instances of the treatment of cotlands at various Hundred Courts:—

On 15th June, 1357, the bailiff presents the death of William Algar on the 10th June, holding one toft and 12 acres of land called Cotlond, and a parcel of land called "Mulewards-lond," containing 4 acres. A cow worth 8*s.* has happened to the Lord as heriot, and as no claimant comes, the bailiff is directed to seize all the lands into the hands of the Lord.

On the 15th January, 1371–2, Richard Toly and Maud his wife, the daughter and heir of John Cokkel, surrender one messuage and a cotland, containing by estimation 25 acres of arable land, and 16*d.* rent, in Esshyng, formerly of John Cokkel, with the reversion of 3 acres held for life by Edith, formerly wife of Henry Tanner. The property is surrendered to the use of Thomas Cheteye and Alice his wife, and the heirs, &c., of Thomas for ever, to be holden of the Lord, according to the custom of the Godalming Manor. Maud is examined, to ascertain that she has made the surrender of her own free will. Thomas made a fine of 13*s.* 4*d.* for admission and did fealty.

On 15th June, 1441, John Savage and Julia his wife, the daughter and heir of Christiana, formerly wife of Ralph Peck, seek to be admitted to a parcel of Cotland called "Hykemannes," which Christiana held at her

[1] *See* page 98.

death. They were admitted, to have and to hold to the said Julia and her heirs, according to the custom of the Manor, rendering and doing to the Lord the yearly services and customs as the same Christiana or any one of her ancestors had been accustomed to render, &c. They gave a fine of 2*s.* for admission and did fealty.

On 27th July, 1441, the Reeve makes presentment of the death of the said Julia, but no heriot has happened to the Lord because she had no beast. John, her husband, is then admitted for life, and gives a fine of 16*d.* for admission; and did fealty.

At another Hundred Court held on 28th March, 26 Henry VI [1448], Thomas Oueton, senior, and Robert Glover, of Godalming, produce a deed whereby Isabella, formerly wife of John Coole, of Godalming, in her widowhood has granted to them all her lands, &c., in the town and parish of Godalming and elsewhere within the Hundred, including two houses with an adjoining garden in the town aforesaid, situate between the land of Denis Morell on the east and the Poundefold of Godalming on the west, and sundry pieces of land in the Godalmyngfeld, Asshestedefeld, and Eldemynstrefeld, and a piece of grove in the Toundengrove, &c.; and, because the said two houses, &c., are held according to the custom of the Manor, Thomas Oueton and Robert Glover seek admittance, and are admitted, to have &c., to them and their heirs, &c., according to the custom of the Manor, by the rents, services and customs appertaining thereto. They gave a fine of 4*s.* for admission, and did fealty.

Although not specifically described as Cotland, there is no doubt that the two houses and garden, and the land of Denis Morell which bounded them on the east, were included in certain tenements in the town of Godalming, owned by cotholders a century later, and which extended along the south side of the High Street from a point somewhat to the west of Pound Lane to Wharf Street, omitting the Pound fall or Pound, which appears to have been situated on the east side of the lane bearing its name.

It must have been to this Denis Morell that the designation of COTERELLUS was applied at a Hundred Court held on 31st May, 1453, when it was presented that Denis Morell and Thomas Chetey of Cokkelys had not come there with the Reeve, as summoned, to do service in the manner of COTERELLI [non veñ ad eunđ cum p̄posito sicut sum̃ fuer̃ ad s̃vic̃ faciend̃ ꝑut moris coterellor̓]. Orders were given to distrain them to attend at the next Court, and Denis promptly obeyed on 21st June and acknowledged his fault; Thomas Chetey, however, failed to attend several Courts, but at last came on 23rd August, and after being examined confessed his error. Both men must therefore have been liable to render service in the manner, rightly or wrongly described as the manner of Coterelli. Denis, as has been shown, was a cotland holder, and the description of Thomas Chetey, as of Cokkelys, suggests that he also may have been owner of the cotland at Eashing, formerly John Cokkel's, to which an earlier Thomas Cheteye was admitted in January, 1371–2.[1]

Turning now to the services, &c., of the cotholders, we find[2] that Ralph Besannt held one cotland at an annual rent of 3*s.* 1*d.*, with additional payments of 12*d.*, called forwardepens, at Martinmas; a cock and hen for churshet on St. Thomas' Day; 1*d.* of St. Peter ad vincula; and 2*d.*, called Ryppans, at Michaelmas. Besides sundry small duties and profits into which it is unnecessary to enter, he was associated with 13 other cotarij in the mowing of the meadows called Doulesmede and Ordelpoulmed; in the taking up of the hay, and removing it from the carts into the Lord's court; and in some operation of sowing which is not described.

Ralph and the 13 other cotholders had also charge of prisoners under arrest after sentence, or on suspicion, while within the Liberty of Godalming; and they were associated with the bailiff in the duty of conducting prisoners to the King's gaol at Guildford Castle. When a prisoner was condemned to death they had to perform the duty of hangman within the Liberty.

[1] *See* page 96. [2] *See* page 106.

Whether these services devolved entirely on the cotholders and bailiff, or were shared by other tenants, is not quite certain; but, be this as it may, the duty of conducting prisoners to gaol, in the early 14th century, led to somewhat unpleasant results in the case of the conductors; whether bailiff, cotholders, or otherwise; and to ulterior proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas, to which we are indebted for the following information, viz.: that certain men who had been indicted for robbery before the bailiffs of the Court of the Bishop of Salisbury at Godalming, and others who had been taken by hand within the Manor of Godalming, had been sent by the bailiffs under charge of one Richard atte Watere[1] and other men of the town of Godalming, as was the custom in those parts, to the King's gaol at Guildford: there to remain until set free in accordance with the law and custom of the kingdom. Andrew of Caleys, the Constable of Queen Margaret's Castle of Guildford, took advantage of the opportunity to seize Richard atte Watere and imprison him for more than three months, and to extort an immoderate ransom before letting him go free, to the injury of the King's peace, and the manifest intimidation of the men of those parts on whom the duty of conveying prisoners to the castle devolved.

The date of the imprisonment must have been prior to Trinity Term, 1318,[2] when the suit came before the Court of Common Pleas as an action previously in existence; that is to say, the Sheriff had been ordered to distrain Andrew of Caleys to attend, but had not returned the writ into Court. The defendant was apparently unwilling to appear or had perhaps left the country, and the Sheriff was ordered to distrain

[1] The designation of "atte Watere" suggests that Richard may have resided in Bridge Street, Godalming, formerly known as the "Stream" and the "Water Way," and he may have been the owner of one of the cotholds in that street.

[2] De Banco Rolls, Tr. Term, 11 & 12 Edw. II, No. 223, m. 162; Mich. Term, 12 Edw. II, No. 225, m. 366; Easter Term, 12 Edw. II, No. 229, m. 72.

him through all lands [*per omnes terras*], and bring his body into Court on the morrow of the ensuing Martinmas. When that time arrived Andrew again failed to attend, and the case was adjourned till the following Easter in three weeks, and then again to the following Michaelmas in fifteen days, with what result has not yet been discovered. It appears that the Bishop of Salisbury was also suing Andrew of Calais, for taking his goods and chattels and imprisoning his men and servants [*nativos et servientes*] when conducting thieves to the Guildford gaol.[1]

With such powerful support we may leave the case; and trust that, if the ex-parte statements were founded on fact, the Constable was finally caught and mulcted in heavy damages.

The service of guarding prisoners, and occasionally hanging them, is again referred to in 1384–5, on the apportionment of the rents, &c., due, in respect of a messuage and lands which one Richard (or Edward) Waterman had aliened to several persons.

The property was held by a tenure closely resembling Ralph Besannt's, and may reasonably be supposed to have been a cotland. Apart from sundry payments[2] which were not peculiar to the cotholders, the tenant was required to do the meadow work (*opera prati*) and the carrying in of the hay, to take charge of prisoners within the Liberty, conduct them to gaol and hang them. In addition thereto he had other liabilities, viz: those of making the fences round the Lord's Pinfald (Pound), and round the Lord's Wood; and, of these additional duties, the fencing of the pound was certainly part of the cotholders' liabilities in the reign of Henry VIII, when their customary tenure had been converted into freehold.[3]

[1] De Banco Rolls, Mich Term, 12 Edw. II, No. 225, m. 190; Easter Term, 12 Edw. II, No. 229, m. 72, &c.

[2] Assize Rent, 1 Cock & 1 Hen on the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, one penny of Romepeny [or Romescot], two pence of Ropselver [apparently Ryppans], and two pence of Faldage or Forwardpeny [? a corruption of "for ward penny"].

[3] See page 101.

We learn from some memoranda of proceedings in the Godalming Hundred Courts, &c., that on 10th April, 1539, orders were given that all the tenants who had fences (*clausur*) against Berywood, should make their fences (*claus suas*) before the next St. George's Day, and that all the tenants called cotmen should make the Lord's Penfold in Godalming before the next Feast of St. Peter, with penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* on all defaulters.

And, on 22nd May, 1539, that all the tenants of the town of Godalming should make the gate called the Heth hatche, the gate called Small hache, the gate at Old Mynster, the gate called Shakstrete gate, and the gate at Hollowe Hyll, before the next Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, under penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* on each defaulter; and also that the tenants called cotmen should mend the Lord's Penfold in the town of Godalming before the next Feast of St. Peter: or otherwise should build the penfold anew, in a certain place near the tenement of John Peke[1] before the same Feast; with penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* on defaulters.

The orders do not appear to have had the desired effect, and, in April 1541, the officer called the Messor (reaper or mower), made presentment that the Penfold was out of repair through the default of Arnold Champion, son of Robert,[2] Thomas West, and William at Ryde and penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* was laid upon them to repair before the next Court.

From a list of Free tenants called Cootholders comprised in an Account of rents received in the year ended Michaelmas, 1542,[3] it appears that they were required, by ancient custom, to repair and maintain the Lord's Pinfald of Godalming as often and as much as necessary

[1] John Peke or Peck seems to have held property on the north side of Wharf Street, adjoining the tenement of William At Ryde. [See Land Rev., Miscell. Surveys. 1—3 Edw. VI, Vol. 190.]

[2] There were several Arnold Champions at this period. This was probably Arnold in the Sand, apparently a resident in the upper end of the Godalming High Street, between the Market Place and Ockford Road, formerly known as Sand Street.

[3] Ministers' Accounts. Divers Counties. 33 & 34 Henry VIII, No. 12.

[except the timber and gate, which were always to be preserved at the Lord's cost]; and also, if felons were taken within the liberty of Godalming, and led there and safely delivered into the hands of the aforesaid tenants called Cotteholders, and if they escaped or broke forth through negligence, the said tenants were required to make forfeit for such escape.

The Pound seems to have been a source of continued trouble, and probably, there was much difficulty in assigning responsibility for its repair to the right persons. Uncertainty is suggested by a direction given in 1626 to the effect that, the Common Park of Godalming was in great decay and that it was the duty of the Tenants to repair; that the Lord of the Manor, the Tenants by Court Roll, and Tenants by Indenture of Lease ought to repair; and that the Lord should be consulted.

Again, in 1670, an effort seems to have been made to ascertain who were cotholders and what were their liabilities. A presentment was made to the effect that there were divers tenants called cotmen, who anciently had conveyed felons from Godalming to the Common Gaol of the County of Surrey at their own expense; that John Atreed, Daniel Watersfield, and Laurence Edwards, then held separate tenements within the Town of Godalming, of which the possessors had been called Cotmen. Before the next Court the Homage was to inquire and certify the names of other Cotmen, and whether the Tenants called Cotmen ought to repair the Common Park, &c.

The result of the inquiry is not known.

The site of the pound is believed to have been converted to private uses near the end of the 18th century.

THE RENTAL.

Ro. Boxold ꝑposit̃.	Thomas de Medemefelde[1] debet de redditu Ass̃ ꝑ anñ vij^{s} j^{d} Et debet sectā. Et si ħeat boves ꝓp^{i}os dabit ꝑ quoꝺibt jugo — j^{d} ad festū nativit̃ đni Et ad festū Pascħ — j^{d}. Et si non ħeat ꝓp^{i}os boves nichill dabit Et si arraꝟit eū equis nꝺ dabit Et dabit — ij^{d} qui vocant^{r} Rippans ad festū sc̃i Micħis Et si ħeat porcos sup teñ suū infra fm sc̃i Micħis ꝛ festū sc̃i Martini dabit pannag̃ Vidꝺt ꝑ porco — j^{d} & ꝑ porcello — oƀ Et si ħeat Carrū vꝺ Carectā cariabit unā carectatā feni ext^{r} pratū Dñi q̃d vocat^{r} Doulesmede	
Oꝟgon Mede	ꝛ Ordelpoulmed ꝑ r̃onabiꝺ sum̃ usq; ad Cur̃ Dñi apud Godalmyng ꝛ ħebit p^{a}ndm vꝺ — oƀ Et Dabit gallū ꝛ	
Churshett	gallinā ad fm sc̃i Thome Apꝺī ꝑ Churshette [*blank*] Et erit Prepositus si sit electus ꝛ accipiet ꝑ anñ diam̃ m^{a}rcā Et qñ Seneschalꝺ vel Baꝺꝺs erit in man̄io ꝑ hundr̃ tenenđ ꝑposit̃ erit ad Custū Dñi. Et si sit extra ꝓcinct̃ hundr̃ ad Computanđ erit ad Custū Dñi Et Redditū suū solvet ꝛ nullas consuetudīes faciet dū sit in offic̃o.	
Ro. Boxold ꝑpos̃.	Margꝯia de Pyph^{a}m[2] de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ...	iiij^{s} iiij^{d}
	Et in om̄ibꝫ alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑciet sic^{t} dc̃s Thomas	
Jo. Penycod ꝑpo.	Joħns de Burhurst de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anũ ...	ij^{s} viij^{d} oƀ
	In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑciet sicut dc̃us Thomas	
Jo. Holloway ꝑpo.	Roƀtus de Langhurste de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ...	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑciet sicut dc̃us Thomas	
Henr̃ Ede ꝑpo.	Wilꝺms de Sutheney de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ...	iij^{s} iiij^{d}
	In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑciet sicut dc̃us Thomas	
(?) Th Peyto ꝑpo.	Henricus le Jour[3] de Tauggelye de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ anñ	xj^{s} iiij^{d}
	In aꝺ faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Thomas	
	Itm iđm Henr̃ ꝑ terr̃ le Bukere de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ	iiij^{s}
	Itm ꝑ terra de la Kneppe ꝑ anñ	iiij^{d}
	Et ad fm sc̃i Micħis qui vocant^{r} Ryppans	ij^{d}
Roger Quenell ꝑpo.	Roƀtus de Heysullebryg de redđ ass̃ ꝑ Anñ	x^{d}
	In aꝺ faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Tho^{a}s	
	Pħus le Jour ꝑ terra de la Kneppe ꝑ Anñ ...	iiij^{d}
	Et ꝑ marioterude ꝑ Anñ	iiij^{d}

Jo Payne ꝑpo.	Wilłms de Enyton de reddit̃ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... In alijs faciet et ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Thomas Et duos denar̃ ult^{r} que vocant^{r} Ryppans ꝛ unū gallū ꝛ unā gallinā	viij^{s}
	Wilłms Oteꝰ de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Thõs	iij^{s}
	Wymark Oteꝰ de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ	xij^{d}
Tho Compton ꝑpo.	Wilłms Jurdan de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Thõs	vij^{s} vj^{d}
Jo Fludder ꝑposit.	Henricus atte Flode de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑc̃ sic^{t} dc̃us Thõs	ij^{s} viij^{d}
Tho Compton ꝑpo.	Joħns de Ouetoñ de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... non daƀ^{t} nisi unū Ryppany In ał fac̃ ꝛ ꝑc̃ sic^{t} dc̃s Thõs	ij^{s} viij^{d}
Toby Wods 87 ꝑpo.	Alic̃ Godard de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Joħnes	ij^{s} vj^{d}
ꝑpo.	Henricus le Bale de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Joħns	ij^{s} v^{d}
W^{m} Mꝰch nuꝑ Ꝑker ꝑpo. nuꝑ Champion	Rađus le Frygg̃ de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Joħns	iij^{s}
	Ric̃us le Heñ [*blank*]	
Jo Balding Jo Mꝰlyn, 88, ꝑpo.	Roƀtus Bryghtwalde de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Joħns	iij^{s} j^{d}
Tho Hull ꝑpo.	Ric̃us de Westebroke de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... non dabit Ryppans non pannagiabit nō dabit Chershett̄ In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Thomas	vj^{s} viij^{d}
ꝑpo.	Roƀtus Payñ de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Ric̃us	iij^{s} v^{d}
Jo Stret ꝑpo.	Roƀtus de Monstede de redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Ric̃us	vj^{s} iiij^{d}
Laur̃ Eliot ꝑpo.	Adam de Bussebrig̃ de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ... In alijs faciet ꝛ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Thõs Et falcabit & spget quatuor Swatħ in p^{a}to Dñi ꝑdc̃is [*sic*] Et ħebit unū kessicłm herbe	v^{s}

Mr Eliot Mr Hull ꝑpo.	de Asshestede de Redđ Ass̃ p Anñ In alijs faciet ⁊ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Adam	vs
ꝑpo.	Walt̃us de Waleton de Redđ Ass̃ p Anñ ... In alijs faciet ⁊ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Adam	vs
nup Egidij Hull ꝑpo.	Walt̃us Atte Burgh[4] de Redđ Ass̃ p anñ ... In alijs faciet ⁊ ꝑcipiet sicut dc̃us Adam : Et ꝑ uno Buttico ad quatuor t̃ios	iiijs ij [d]
Jo West	Adam le Mason de Redđ Ass̃ p Anñ ... Et dabit ꝑ Chersett unū gallū ⁊ unā gallinā. Et unū denar̃ sc̃i Petri : It̃m vjd qui vocantr forewardepens Et duos Ryppans. Et sex denar̃ ꝑ consuetuđ remittenđ	ijs viijd
Bedellus	Walt̃us de Monstede de Redđ Ass̃ p anñ ... Et dabit Chershette & unū denar̃ sc̃i Petri : It̃m sex denarios forewardepens ⁊ duos Ryppans Et vjd p Consuetuđ remittend & debet [*blank*] Bedell si dñs voluit & ħebit p Anñ vs	ijs
ꝑpo.	Roƀtus Mason de Enytons de Redđ Ass̃ p Anñ Dabit jd sc̃i Petri Et ꝑ Arura ad Rat̃ [*sic* ? Nat̃] Dñi — jd Et ad Pascħ — jd In alijs faciet ⁊ ꝑciet sicut dc̃us Thõs.	ijs viijd
ꝑpo.	Joħns Alvon de Redđ Ass̃ p anñ ... ... In alijs faciet ⁊ ꝑcipiet sicut ꝑdc̃us Roƀtus le Mason	ijs viijd
Jo Kene	Ric̃us Atte Mulle de Essynge de Reddit̃ Ass̃ p Anñ ... ... Dabit ꝑ Chershette unū gallū et unā gallinā Et pannagiabit Pret̃ q̃d ħebit unū porcū liƀum Et dabit xij Estykkes Anguillaꝝ pima dñica quadagesime	xxs
Jo Eliot	Joħns Atte Mulle de Godalmyng de Redđ Ass̃ p Anñ ... ... Et pannagiabit ꝑter quod ħebit unū porcū liƀum	vjd
Tho Hull	Ric̃us de Westebroke de Redđ Ass̃ p Annū... Joħns le Mason de Redđ Ass̃ p Anñ ...	ijs viijd viijd

Tho Machwick	Joħns Cockel de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ	vj^{d}
	Joħns Algar de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ	vj^{d}
	Joħns le Mulewarde de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ ...	j^{d}
	Stepħus Atte Pleystowe[5] de Redđ Ass̃ ꝑ Anñ	j^{d}
	Wilłm̃s Cissor de Pypharghe ꝑ parte terr̃ Henr̃ le Gale apud Schakelforde ꝑ Anñ	j^{d}

Ja Eliot Rađus Besannt[6] tenet unū Cotlonđ & redđ ꝑ Anñ — iij^{s} j^{d} Et ad fest̃m sc̃i Martini — xij^{d} qui vocant^{r} forewardepens Et si ħeat porcos sup teñ suū int̃ fest̃ sc̃i Micħis ꝛ fm sc̃i Martini dabit pannag̃ videłt ꝑ porco — j^{d} ꝛ ꝑ porcello — oƀ Et dabit Churshet̃ ad fest̃ sc̃i Thome Ap̃li v5 unū gallū ꝛ unā gallinā Et falcabit p^{a}tū voc̃ Doulesmede ꝛ pratū voc̃ Ordelpoulmed eū alijs tresdecim Cotarijs Et ħebit ꝑ dc̃a falcac̃oe gentacłm suū ṽl — oƀ q5 Et spget eū alijs p̊dc̃is xiij^{cim} Et ħebit unū Pessicłm herbe Et levabit fenū in p̊dc̃is p^{a}tis cū dc̃is xiij^{cim} Et debet intrare fenū đcoꝝ pratoꝝ eū dc̃is xiij^{cim} in Cnr̃ dñi de Caricis ꝛ ħebit gentacłm ṽl — q5 Et dabit — j^{d} sc̃i Petri ad vinc̃la Et ad fm sc̃i Micħis — ij^{d} que vocant^{r} Ryppans Et debet [*blank*] Bedello ad vannanđ Et Custodiet p^{i}sones captos ꝑ indc̃ament̃ ṽl suspec̃om dū fůit in liƀtate Et ducet eū alijs xiij^{cim} ꝛ eū Bałłio p^{i}sones t̃les ad Gaolam Et acquietabit imp^{i}sonament̃ si p^{i}so non ħeat unde possit. Et si p^{i}so fůit dampnat̃ dc̃us Rađus eū alijs ip̃m in liƀtate p̊đca suspendent Et si sint p^{i}sones capt̃ ꝑ sectā & gengā dc̃us Rađus t̃les eū alijs xiij^{cim} custodiet Et cū Bałłio ducet ad Gaolam.

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[1] The name of Medemefeld is not traced in the Assessments *c.* 1332 and *c.* 1380–1; but at a Hundred Court held 25 May, 1340, Richard of Medmefeld and others were sworn to enquire into the burning of the heath at Gerardeswod and at Wyrmele, &c.; and at another held in October, 1384, Robert Chonnesson paid a fine of 8*d.* to be relieved of Hundred service up to the following Michaelmas in respect of Medmefold. The Robert Boxold whose name is noted in the margin as Reeve, or holder of Reeveland, was presumably one Robert Boxold who held Medefeldꝑ and Chownsons land in Haslemere Parish, *c.* 1601–2, and who soon after held Pepperhams; although one John Humfrey seems to have been liable for the rent of the last in 1601–2.

[2] There was an outlying part of Piperham near Vanne, but the estate held by Margery of Pyperham must have been near the present Parish Church of Haslemere, formerly known as the Chapel of Piperham.

[3] Jewersly, near Chiddingfold, probably derives its name from the family of le Jour, or *vice versâ*. Tugley and Kneppe are names of lands in the neighbourhood.

[4] The Bergh or Burgh, afterwards Borough land, was somewhere near Vanne and Hambledon. It was apparently not the same estate as Burgate, of which the tenants owed suitors' service at the Godalming Hundred Courts, whereas the tenants of Burgh owed Reeve service. Robert atte Bergh, the Reeve of 1339, presumably held this property; but, in October, 1384, order was given to distrain Thomas atte Hull to attend at the next Hundred Court to show what title he had to the tenement atte Bergh. John at Hill seems to have been owner towards the close of the 15th century and during the first half of the 16th. Giles Hull gave place to Lawrence Eliott about the end of 16th century, and, from him, it seems to have passed with the Busbridge and Hambledon Estates.

[5] By deed of 11 February, 16 Edw. II, 1322–3 [in private hands], Stephen atte Pleystowe, son and heir of Stephen atte Pleystowe of Godalming, granted to his sister Isabella, for life, a sleeping room with a wardrobe [*Thalamum cum Garderoba*] out of le Nywehouse, near the way going to the Church in the Town of Godalming, at an annual rent of $5\frac{1}{4}d$. This house was presumably represented by a messuage and garden called "atte Pleystowe," and described in a deed of 15 April, 7 Henry V, 1419, as situate in Church Street, Godalming, between the tenement of John Furner on one part and the tenement of Rich[d] Smyth on the other part: and again on 1 May, 5 Edw. VI, 1551, as between the tenement late of William Westbroke, Esq., dec., on the south, and the tenement of Robert Peyto called Glovers alias Parsons on the north. Atte Pleystowe undoubtedly was situate on the west side and near the upper end of Church Street, and it is almost certainly represented by some one or more of the houses with projecting first floors, still existing at this spot: perhaps, though not certainly, by the richly timbered house facing the old Town Hall or Market House.

[6] The name of Ralph Besannt has not been traced elsewhere than in the Rental, but members of the Besannt family are constantly mentioned in the Hundred Rolls, &c., of the 14th and 15th centuries. A cotholding called Besannts was situated on the west side and upper end of Bridge Street, Godalming, and had some adjoining crofts which seem to have stretched back behind the King's Arms Hotel; perhaps forming part of the site thereof.

NOTES ON THE MANOR AND MANOR HOUSE OF WALTON-ON-THE-HILL.

BY

W. P. D. STEBBING, F.G.S.

SALMON, in his *Antiquities of Surrey* (1736), speaks of Walton-on-the-Hill, and derives the name Walton, *i.e.*, the town or village near the fortified place, from an earthwork at the end of Pebble Lane.[1] He speaks of this as like an ancient boundary running from Leatherhead to Walton, but it is rather obscure as to what he actually means, and it seems doubtful if his notes were made from his own observations. The actual wording of the passage and of another in the account of the neighbouring village of Headley is as follows:—

"Walton (on the Hill). I believe it owes its name
" to that Earth-work which is seen on the Downs above
" Mickleham, pointing one way towards Lethered, the
" other towards Walton by the end of Pebble Lane.
" This seems to have been a British or Saxon Limit
" for division of the Country. And probably runs
" through some part of Walton which may be defaced
" with Ploughing."

"Hedley. It is generally said that here is a
" perfect Roman way on the edge of this Parish on
" Lethered Downs leading from Darking by Mickle-
" ham to London.

"I don't know where to find those proofs which
" are so much relied on. It may as well have come
" up Box-Hill as by Juniper Hole [the valley leading

[1] The section of the Roman Ermine Street, where it crosses Leatherhead Downs, used to be known by this name.

"up to Headley is probably meant], and might pass "the River [the Mole] at the Castle (*i.e.*, Betchworth) "Bridge as well as at Burford where floods are more "troublesome. It might, from the place called Gib- "raltar [the precipitous western slope of Box-Hill is "probably meant] go on in the Kingston Road to "the Downs where the Barows are in the Way to "Walton."

This last sentence seems now very obscure, but the barrows are those probably on Leatherhead Downs, near the course of the Ermine Street. Aubrey, writing about 1673, has the following note on this track which has evidently been taken and amplified by the ingenious Salmon:—

"On Leatherhead Down on the edge of this "Parish (*i.e.*, Headley), is a perfect Roman way "from London to Darking."[1]

I am disinclined to suggest that Salmon, from hearsay, has mistaken the ridge of the Roman Road on the Downs for his earthwork, or that he may have been thinking about Tumble Beacon, a large artificial mound of low elevation by Nork Park, three miles north-east of the village. However, we need not go far for the origin of the name of the manor, as there still remains an earthwork in the grounds of Walton Manor House, which Salmon might have heard of in some way. This tumulus stands at the considerable altitude of 587 feet, near the junction of roads to Dorking, Leatherhead and Epsom, Sutton and Reigate; it is steep-sided but under 12 feet in greatest height, and has a flat top in diameter about 35 yards from north to south by 32 from east to west, and there are traces of the ditch at the foot of the mound from which the earth was dug to raise it. Mr. W. R. Malcolm, the owner of what is probably a considerable portion of the demesne of the ancient manor, says that hewn stone has been found in shallow

[1] *The Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 300.

excavations in this earthwork,[1] although no systematic exploration seems ever to have been carried out. Considering this, it is a question if there may not have been some fortified structure raised on the top at an early period to dominate the position. The Roman villa on Chussex plain, and what have always been considered to be three small square Roman camps not far off on the heath, indicate that there was regular communication by way of these Downs between Dorking and the country beyond on the one hand, and Noviomagus and London on the other, which was kept up in later periods.[2] A few yards distant from the southern half of the tumulus is a narrow moat-like strip of water which skirts the road, but is now almost wholly cut off from it by the wall of the manor house grounds. This, in old records, is known as the Court Ditch, and although probably of no further interest, very likely being not much more than a farm-yard pond,[3] shows that the present line of the road at this point has not changed for a long time. Beyond the western end of the ditch the old bridle path to Headley joined the road. This way at present runs south of its old line which, when the photograph (Plate I) was taken, ran through the old farmyard, now part of the garden, thence across what is now a lawn not far from the south-west angle of the house, and so on towards Headley. These details are well shown on the tithe map of the parish, which in

[1] Manning and Bray, Vol. II, p. 813, say that, "In the ground near the east end of the house is a square mound of earth on which has been a building, but of what sort is not known, as nothing but the foundations have been left within memory."

[2] Mr. Malden makes the suggestion that these enclosures were never military camps, but merely pieces of land taken in at some time by squatters, or made by those who had common rights for housing cattle at night. A squatter's enclosure on Banstead Heath, above the tunnel, was done away with when the railway was being made in 1898–99.

[3] This opinion has been modified since Mr. A. H. Allcroft pointed out the probable connection of the name with the adjacent tumulus. He considers this was thrown up as a Moot Hill, and later used as the place of meeting of the manorial courts.

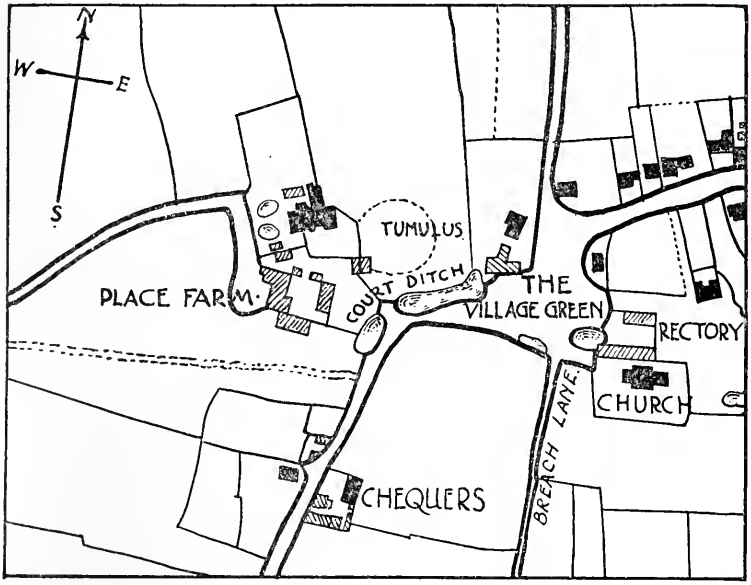
WALTON PLACE, about 1865.

face 110.

WALTON PLACE, about 1867, with part of the Moot Hill.

face 111.

its present form dates from November 1839. (*See* map.)



PORTION OF TITHE MAP OF WALTON ON THE HILL · 1839

Rocque's map of 1762, except that it shows the Court Ditch, is unfortunately of no value for these details, although the scale is large enough.

Mr. Malcolm states that the previous owner, Mr. Charles Cumberland, obtained permission to make this change in the course of the path when he came here about 1867. It is possible that he made it a condition of his buying the estate from the Carew Trustees.

The building that is now known as Walton Manor House, although it had fallen into the position of a farm-house generations before Mr. Malcolm bought it, has with the manor a good deal of interest, both historically and architecturally.

The following paragraphs, largely based on Manning and Bray's work, give a sketch of the manorial history of the parish:—

At the Conquest the manor was granted to Richard de Tonbridge. His descendants held it until 1314, when Gilbert de Clare, the last male, died. In 1260 a John de Waleton or Wauton, who may have been a descendant of the John who was tenant of the manor under Richard in 1087, had a grant of free warren here from Henry III. John de Wauton, seemingly without any evidence, has been named as the founder of the church, and his grave, with an inscription stating this, located under the external arched recess in the north wall of the chancel.[1] A coffin slab, with traces of a floriated cross on it, occupies the recess. It is possibly that of one of the 13th-century rectors.

Following the grant to John is a record showing that about 1270, and up to his death in 1294, the manor was in the hands of John de Lovetot, who held it by one knight's fee. This man, from 1275 to 1289, was one of the Puisne Judges of the Common Pleas, and the amasser of great wealth by fair means or foul. The style of the work seen in the manor house belongs to this period. Thus it is quite possible that de Lovetot built it. As tenant of the manor, he was succeeded by his son John, then aged 40. The date of this man's death is doubtful, but it was probably in 1314, in which year the property was granted by Hugh le Despencer the younger to a John Brewes. (Inquis. p. m., 21 Edw. III.) This grant seems proved by the fact that Gilbert de Clare the last did not die until 1314. He was then succeeded in these estates by his sister Eleanor, one of three co-heiresses, whose husband was the Despencer named above.

Walton thus came into the hands of this family, but it was evidently alienated when Despencer was hanged in 1326 by Queen Isabella. Soon after Edward III's accession the manor must have been granted to John de Warenne, who held it until his death in 1347.

[1] The tablet was put up by Mr. Ambrose Hall, an enthusiastic local antiquary, who died early in the last century. On it is "JOHANNES DE WALTUNE HUJUS ECCLESIAE FUNDATOR, A.D. 1268." The late 12th-century lead font is evidence of an earlier building on the site.

(Inquis. p. m., 21 Edw. III, No. 58.) A Surrey Fine of the 3rd Edw. III, 1329 (*Surrey Arch. Coll.*, Ex. Vol. I, p. 98, 1894), is a suit between him by John de Assheby (? his steward) and Francis Bachemus and his wife Johanna in Wauton. (Philip de Drokeneford, a. s. c.)[1] The following reason seems to account for this grant. John de Brewose, who succeeded his father in 1329, was a minor. It therefore appears possible that de Warenne received a temporary grant of the manor while he acted as guardian. Dwelling at Dorking, he could effectually keep an eye on his ward. About the year 1332 Manning and Bray record (*History of Surrey*, Vol. II, p. 644), that these two were granted the right to hold two fairs at Walton. It looks as if a good deal of traffic passed through the village, and rather as if the place had grown up as a centre of distribution for the surrounding towns.

With Warenne's death, and the reversion of his estates to the Crown, Walton was re-granted to the Despencers in the person of a third Hugh, son of the one mentioned above. He died in 1349, seized of $1\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fees in the manor. (Inquis. p. m., 23 Edw. III (1350), No. 169.) As sub-tenant under Despencer, and afterwards directly under the king, de Brewose probably held a large part of the land; and he lived on until 1358, when he died, aged about 29, seized of the manor. (M. & B., Esch. 31 Edw. III, No. 49.)

From 1349 to 1465 the overlordship of the manor seems to have remained in the hands of the Crown; but in this last year Elizabeth Woodville received it as a grant for life on her marriage, "in part support of the expenses of her chamber." (Cal. Pat. Rolls, March 16th, 1465.) As to the tenants and under-tenants during the earlier part of this period, we find that from 1377, on Richard II's accession, three de Arundels, grandsons of Alice, sister and heiress of John de Warenne, successively held the manor for

[1] These letters stand for "apponit suum clameum." Drokeneford had a grant of free warren here and evidently wished to safeguard his rights.

their lives; and that finally Alice, the widow of the last, from 1423 to her death about 1436, was confirmed in the grant of, among other places, all the lands and tenements in Wauton, and the advowson of the church, to the value of 80 marks a year, by Henry VI for her life. (Cal. Pat. Rolls.)

In 1437 there is the record of a grant of the manor to Sir Ralph Rochford; but a year after we read that John Merston and his wife Rose take over the manor, with the park and warren, for their lives, at a rent to be agreed on with him.[1] Three months after this, on April 21st, 1438, the king hands over the advowson to them for their lives. The grant says that although it belonged to the manor, it had not been mentioned in the grant to Sir Ralph Rochford. With the foundation of Eton College in 1441, it seems that Henry VI, as overlord, probably brought pressure to bear on the Merstons to relinquish their rights over the manor, as we find them granting their interest in it, but reserving a rent to themselves, to the college. In 1448 (Cal. Pat. Rolls) they lost the remainder of their interest, and at the same time the advowson, which were granted in frank almoin to the College. In 1457 and 1460 the king acts as patron. Edward IV, at the commencement of his reign, cancels the grant of the manor to Eton College; and at Easter, 1464, Richard Harleston and Thomas Bradbrigge receive it for life without the necessity of rendering anything to the king. These people and Sir John Plummer, who on February 16th, 1471, was granted £45, partly raised from this manor, park, and warren, for expenses during the holding of the office of Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, and Nicholas Harpisfeld, who on February 12th, 1485 was granted for life an annuity of £10, partly raised from issues of this manor, must, if these grants held, have taken most of the profits from the manor. They were probably, however, paid in this way by the Crown; the remainder of the incomings, in spite of the unsettled

[1] Merston in this year was king's esquier. Afterwards Treasurer of Chamber and Keeper of Jewels.

times, probably continued to be paid to Elizabeth Woodville as lady of the manor. She retained this with her other estates until 1487, when Henry VII took the manor into his own hands and confined her in the nunnery of Bermondsey till her death in 1492. He was always mistrustful, both of her and of her daughter Elizabeth, whom the Yorkists considered the true heir to the throne.

By Henry VIII, the manor was given to Catherine of Aragon, just before her marriage in 1509, but a few months after her divorce in 1533, he granted it to Sir Nicholas Carew of Beddington, who, however, was executed in 1539, when the manor escheated to the Crown. By Act of Parliament in that year it was annexed to the honour of Hampton Court.

Anne of Cleves was divorced by Henry VIII in July, 1540, formally consenting to the terms of separation on the 11th, six months after her marriage. It is possible that subsequently she may have come and stayed here, although there is no actual record of her doing so. Manning and Bray's words, on which the definite statements of later writers are based, are: "It is conjectured that the latter [Anne of Cleves] resided here." It is known that she was at Bletchingly not long after her marriage was annulled, and she might have reached it *viâ* Walton.[1] After Edward VI's death, Queen Mary, having obtained possession of the other alienated estates of Sir Nicholas, restored them on July 14th, 1554, with the manor of Walton-on-the-Hill, to the Carew family in the person of Sir Francis, the son of Sir Nicholas. Anne of Cleves died at Chelsea Palace, July 17th, 1557.

[1] A letter from Henry VIII, dated from Westminster 12th July, 1540, to her at Richmond, where she still was on the 24th, acquaints her with the news that "We have appointed you two houses, that at Richemont, where you now lie, and the other at Blechinglegh, not far from London, that you may be near us and, as you desire, able to repair to our Court to see us, as we shall repair to you." He probably visited her at Blechingley in 1541, as one of the King's "Gests" (Add. MS., B. M., 9825, f. 9) from Hampton Court, through the Home Counties, was arranged on the return to pass from Penshurst to Blechingley, and so back *viâ* Beddington, West Horsley and Wo(Oking).

Although I have failed to prove, as I had hoped to be able to do, that this house had sheltered Henry VIII himself, it has other noteworthy points. One of Henry VIII's love letters to Anne Boleyn, approximately dated June 20th, 1528, contains the sentence: "When we were at Waltham."[1] In two editions of these letters the last word is spelt Walton, so raising hopes soon to be shattered on referring to the volume of the Rolls series containing the letters of this period.[2] However, with the record of the grant of this manor to several queen consorts, we may conclude that it was given to them as part of their jointure. Thus, while in the hands of Catherine of Aragon, it is quite possible that the house was used by her and her maids of honour as a country retreat; and also, as it was in the midst of forest and waste, as a hunting lodge by Henry VIII, who, at a later date, could have easily ridden over from his park and unfinished palace of Nonsuch.[3]

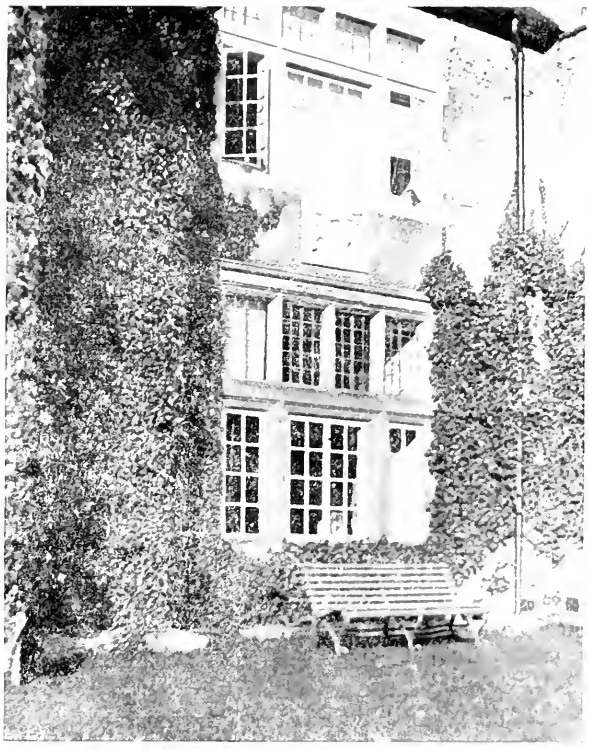
The district never seems to have been bare or treeless, as the chalk subsoil is almost wholly covered with clays, sands, and gravels of various ages. The more clayey beds support considerable tracts of oak woodland. One of these patches, in 1828 covering nearly 24 acres, is still known as Queen's Wood, a name traditionally considered to date from the time of "the Lady" Anne of Cleves, but more probably from that earlier Queen, Elizabeth Woodville. This wood is not shown in Rocque's Map, but it is evidently part of the primæval woodland of the district.[4]

[1] The house referred to is evidently New Lodge, a favourite hunting box of Henry's in Waltham Royal Forest. It would be on his way from Hever where he had just left Anne, viâ Tilbury or Grays, to Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, whence he sent the letter quoted from. The sentence in the same letter, "I think if you would retire from Surrey as we did, you would escape all danger," probably refers to Richmond, where the king was in April. In May he was at Greenwich.

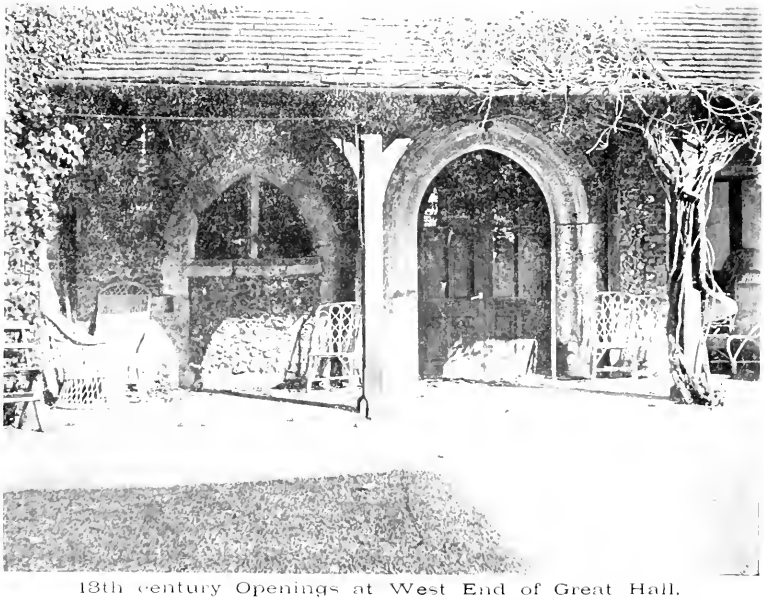
[2] Letters and Papers, Domestic and Foreign, 1526–28, No. 4,403.

[3] In July, 1544, the king was buying land here, among other places, from Nicholas Leigh, who also received cash and the grant in fee of the manor of Adyngton. (Letters and Papers, Domestic and Foreign.)

[4] Walton had a reputation for the number of its trees 200 years ago. A passage in a letter quoted in *A Journey through England*, 2nd ed.,



Centre of South Front of Manor House.



13th century Openings at West End of Great Hall.

WALTON MANOR HOUSE.

A further historical record to be noted about the manor house is that connected with the Carew coat-of-arms, with an earl's coronet placed on the south front of the house. (*See* Plate III.) This stone is not the original, but it is a replica of and replaces the original slab of hearth-stone[1] which was discovered under some plaster by Mr. Malcolm during the restoration of the Jacobean windows here, but in such a decayed state that it was removed and placed under shelter on the west front of the house. It is now unhappily undecipherable.[2]

The arms are those of George Carew, a great friend of Sir Walter Ralegh's, and a member of the Devonshire branch of the family. In 1605 Carew, for his many services, had been created Baron Carew of Clopton, and in 1609 keeper of Nonsuch House and Park. In 1619 he was re-appointed to this post for life, and finally, in 1626, created Earl of Totnes. It is possible that in virtue of his position at Nonsuch he obtained this house, which had been a hunting lodge, and that he reconstructed it for his own use. He would hardly have done the work and added his coronet to the Carew arms if he had been merely a tenant. Writing from the Savoy on October 4th, 1626, he says that after the illness by which he was attacked at the funeral of King James, and had gained no relief from a visit to Bath, he retired to Nonsuch. All the summer he had been in the country, where he had found good by air and exercise. It is more than likely that he spent a good deal of this time at Walton,

Vol. I, p. 129, says that in comparison with Epsom and its Downs "*Sutton* and *Cheam*, if not too low, are yet too dirty; as *Walton* and Hedley are too windy in winter, too woody, and therefore too close in summer." Queen's Wood is now a part of the Frith Park lands, of which it seems to have formed a portion in 1509. (M. & B., Vol. II, p. 647.) It is therefore hardly likely to have belonged to the manor in 1540.

[1] Hearth or fire-stone, the only free-stone of this part of Surrey, was extensively used over a large area round Merstham till brickwork to a great extent took its place from the end of the 15th century.

[2] Manning and Bray mention (Vol. II, p. 813) that "in the south front are the three lions of England on a shield, supported by the griffin and the greyhound." There is no doubt that they misread these arms. Lord Totnes' arms were Or, three lions passant sa., supporters, antelopes, and motto, En esperance je vis.

not on the low-lying clays of Nonsuch. The previous stewards of Nonsuch were also stewards of this manor.

After his death in 1629, the house and land round evidently came back to the Carews of Beddington, represented from 1611, when Sir Francis died, by Nicholas, his nephew, brother to Lady Ralegh. The manor itself, from 1554, always seems to have remained a part of the Beddington property, and in fact was only alienated when the estates were broken up during the latter half of the 19th century.[1] There are two interesting early references to the connection of the Carews with this parish in the 17th century, recorded in the first volume of the registers, a small square parchment book containing entries dating from 1581. This book records on May 2nd, 1639, the baptism of Mary, a daughter of Mr. Nicholas Carew, the younger brother of Sir Francis, then lord of the manor, and Elizabeth, his wife, and on August 11th, 1643, the burial of the same gentleman, who is now given the title of esquire. A Sir Jordan Crosland, of Co. York, may have afterwards dwelt here. A strong adherent of the King, he was knighted at Lincoln in 1642, and in 1646 was captured at Worcester. In 1660 he re-appears, and in October was granted the office of Constable and Keeper of Scarborough Castle. In 1666 he was a Commissioner of Prizes for Hull, and in July, 1667, speaks in a letter of coming up to the Parliament. About December, having lost his Commissionership, he was petitioning for an allowance for his faithful services. Under the date 1668, there is an entry in the registers saying that "Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Jurdan Cruflan, Knight, was buried the 27th day of Aprill."

[1] Manning and Bray record when they wrote, that the farm consisted of about 350 acres of land and 200 of wood. Mrs. Anne Paston Gee, the lady of the manor, seems to have owned in 1817, when a re-assessment took place, 532 acres of land and wood, while the amount she owned, according to a manuscript list of 1828, was 678 acres. Mr. Richard Gee paid £25 : 14*s.* 4*d.* as Poor Rate to the overseer of Walton for 1812–13. This year the rates at 8*s.* in the pound made £373 : 2*s.* 4*d.*

As a side issue, it is worth recording here that the house is said by some recent writers to have been originally a monastic foundation—I presume from having a chapel—but the list of the various owners of the manor does not justify this conclusion. Besides, if it had been some abbey or priory grange, there would almost certainly have been evidence remaining on this point. Doubtless, also, the parish living would not have remained a rectory, as the religious foundation would have appropriated the great tithes and have had the church served by a vicar of their appointing.[1] To serve the chapel, however, we find that in the 4th and 5th of Edw. III, 1330–31 (*Surrey Arch. Coll.*, Extra Vol. I, *Pedes Finium*, 1894), a John de Malton was chaplain here and engaged in some suit with John de Warenne, who in the Fines first appears in 1329. It seems uncertain when he succeeded to the lordship of the manor.

The house at present retains traces of what seems to be, from the mouldings remaining, a 13th-century building, part of which, and that the best preserved, is undoubtedly the chapel. On to this early structure, with evidently, however, a good deal of pulling down and rebuilding, a Jacobean house with its superior ideas of comfort and modes of life was grafted. After a long period of gradual decay, with some minor 18th-century alterations, in the 19th century it returned to better days, if withal a time that cared little for its architectural history. Now, if comparatively little remains of the original house, the structure is almost as good as ever it was, and a good many of the changes and alterations of the different periods can be very fairly made out with a little investigation.

As to buildings, contemporary or approximately of the same period, the plans of the following are worth citing as bearing upon and perhaps aiding in elucidating the probable arrangements of the manor house here.

[1] Although not bearing on the advowson here, Reigate Priory possessed a little land in the parish which, on its suppression, was granted in June 1541 to William Lord Howard. (Letters and Papers, Domestic and Foreign, 1541, No. 947, 12.)

Charney Bassett.

A good example of the smaller manor house, dating from the end of the 13th century, may be seen at Charney Bassett in Berkshire. In plan, this consisted of a hall the full height of the house with a wing at each end, thus forming nearly three sides of a square. The interest centres in the southern annexe, which runs east and west, and consists of a ground and upper floor. The lower part, 8 feet high, contains a kitchen, with fire-place in its north wall, and a small room projecting from its eastern end and probably used as a cellar. Above is the private room or solar of the house, directly communicating with a small chapel. These two rooms measure respectively 30 ft. × 16 ft. and 12 ft. 5 in. × 9 ft. 10 in., and are particularly interesting, in that access to them is gained by an external staircase which adjoins the backdoor of the kitchen. The evidence of this and the date of the house induce me to think that the elaborate doorway on the upper floor at Walton (*see* Photograph No. 2), once closed by a massive door, points to its being an external opening approached by a similar open air flight of steps.

Bishop's Palace, Lincoln.

The second plan, which bears on the question of the entrance to the hall and the position of the kitchen, consists of the remains of these parts of the Bishop's Palace at Lincoln, a building which was erected between 1200 and 1230. The hall, which measures 90 ft. × 60 ft., as against 30 ft. × 22 ft. in our example, has the usual three doorways at one end, the two side ones leading to the buttery and pantry, while the centre one opens into a passage which led between the two small rooms to the main service entrance, beyond which were a couple of small larders and then the kitchen. This last was an isolated building, but had its doorway opposite to the one leading into the hall.

Haddon Hall.

Another building, mainly of the 15th century, that shows the hall and subsidiary buildings well, is Haddon Hall; there the main room of the mediæval house, 44 ft. long × 28 ft. wide, runs east and west, between a lower and an upper court-yard. There is a large fire-place in the centre of the south side, and wooden screens at the west end which cut off the hall from the entrance porch and through passage between the two court-yards. This thoroughfare is 8 ft. wide, making the hall proper 36 ft. long. On the other side of the passage are the usual three doorways, which lead into or to the pantry, kitchen, and buttery. This plan is a typical one of the period, but has a good many points which cannot be fitted in with what we have remaining at Walton.

Ightham Mote.

Yet another modification of the plan of the manor house of the period may be seen in the famous example known as Ightham Mote. This house is much smaller than Haddon Hall and possesses only one court, on to which the hall, running practically north and south, fronts. The dimensions of this interesting feature, commenced about 1350, are 30 ft. by 20 ft., from which may have been originally deducted about 6 ft. for the passage cut off from the rest of the room by the screens. If these were never fitted they may have been considered unnecessary, seeing the small size of the hall, and that there seem to have been only two openings in its southern end, one leading to the kitchen and the other to the pantry. The fire-place occupies the centre of the east wall, just beyond it to the north being an original doorway which communicated with a partly isolated but contemporary building, having on the ground floor a groined crypt or cellar and above a small chapel, placed, to orientate it, at right angles with the hall, and measuring 22 ft. by 14 ft. From this description it will be seen that the great hall and

the chapel are of much the same dimensions as those at Walton, but they are very much richer in details, and, owing to the early planning or exigencies of the site, not of much help in clearing up the problem here.

The kitchen and other traces of early work occupy the south-east corner of the site, being connected, as I have stated, with the south end of the hall.

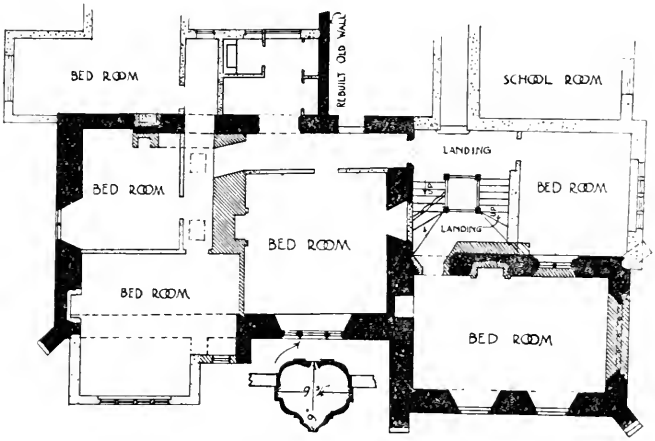
Walton Place or Manor House.

As to the early structure of Walton Manor House, the plan and the remaining walls themselves in many cases have been so modified, cut into, and changed by the work of later centuries, and so much seems to have totally disappeared, that the original arrangement now is problematical, but, in spite of these changes, we have still a good deal of evidence remaining about the two chief rooms of the mediæval house—namely, the great hall and the chapel. These seem to be supplemented by a two-story range of buildings that ran northwards from an east and west passage with which they communicated by angle-chamfered, obtuse-headed doorways. The hall also seems to have been connected with this passage, as there is a doorway opening into it of a similar type. It is possible that the secondary range of buildings formed one side of a court-yard, round which there were ranged the kitchens, outhouses, and stables. (*See* Plan.)

The house probably remained as it was built till Jacobean times, but in that period it was extensively altered and re-arranged. Later in its history it degenerated into a farm-house, but in 1718 it was still important enough to be shown as Walton Place on the map of the county, published in Aubrey's *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, while it and its surrounding buildings are roughly laid down on the large scale map of the county published by Rocque in 1762.[1]

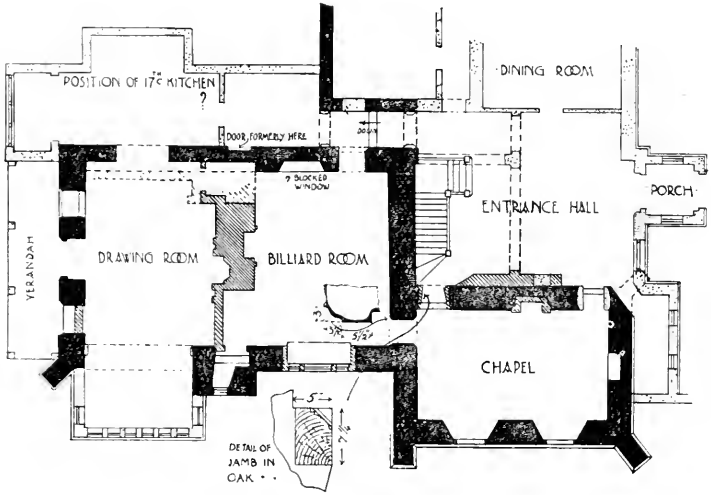
[1] Stephen Whatley, in 1751, includes in *England's Gazetteer*—"Walton Hill and Place, Surrey, Sir Nich. Carew's manor, E. of Leatherhead Downs."

WALTON · MANOR · SURREY

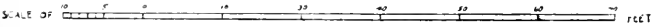


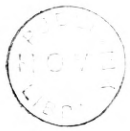
· FIRST FLOOR PLAN ·

OLD BUILDINGS DESTROYED, SEE PLATE



· GROUND FLOOR PLAN ·





This house is evidently one of the two (the other I have not been able to identify) which John Adams, in 1690, in his *Index Villaris*, refers to when he indicates that Walton-on-the-Hill possesses the seats of two gentlemen. During the latter part of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century a family of farmers named Ede[1] lived in the house; James, the father, who died in 1825, is recorded on his tombstone in the churchyard as being of Walton Place. In recent years the building has been renamed Walton Manor on the supposition that the manor must have had a house attached to it, and from what we know of the house I do not think it can be disputed that the owner had sufficient justification for changing its old name.

In the 18th century sash windows took the place of the earlier ones in the aforetime chapel. These were probably mullioned openings of the early 17th century, when it seems the room was first divided up. Since then, still further changes have been made by the present owner and Mr. Cumberland, his predecessor. In these last cases we must mourn over the thoroughness of the modern architect in doubtless clearing away many interesting points.

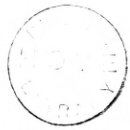
The remains indubitably consist of what evidently was an almost detached building at the south-eastern angle of the house, and the south and west sides of a structure adjoining it to the west, but with its south wall set back several feet to the north. Externally this is all. The walls of this old work are built of flint, with hearth (Merstham) stone for the cut work, the flint being covered in some places with plaster, with its surface ornamented with small raised lumps. This plaster is, however, probably due to a later period in the house's history.

[1] This family, which probably came from the neighbourhood of Horley, where the name still exists, settled here about 1780. The last member, a son, died in 1870.

The Chapel.

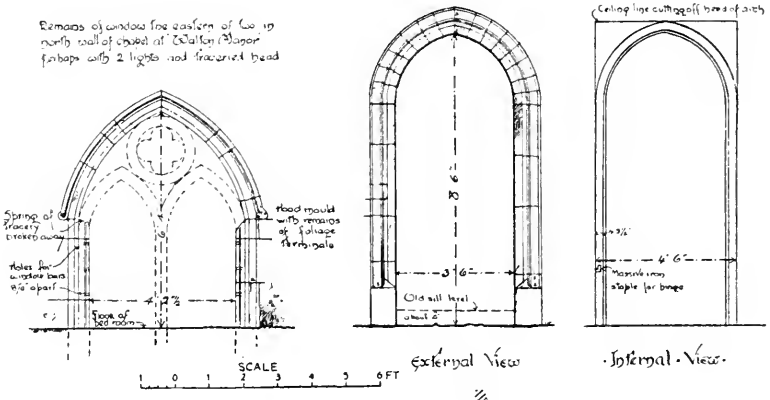
As for the detached building, Turner and Parker, in their *Domestic Architecture in England*, Vol. III, p. 175, mention that the chapel often forms a separate wing of the house, joining on to the hall at one corner only, as at Lyte's Cary, Somersetshire, and Bradley Manor House, Devonshire. Here the detached structure, I think, is undoubtedly the chapel of the original house. It has walls 2 ft. 6 in. in thickness and two buttresses remaining—a diagonal one, at the south-east corner and a square one at the other end of the south wall, both with weathered offsets. (*See* Plate I.) The diagonal buttress retains its chamfered base course in good order, but the other, which has been extensively patched and repaired, now retains very little of the feature. The only other trace of old work on the exterior of this part of the house is a small square glazed recess in the west wall, about 4 ft. 6 in. above the ground. This hole, now showing no trace on the inner surface of the wall, may be possibly the remains of some original opening here; but the greater probability is that it is only one of the results of the 18th-century occupation. Externally, there is nothing else of pre-Reformation date, and the roof even has been lowered from its original pitch, not one of the old timbers, as far as can be seen now, remaining. On entering this part of the present house, now the library, we find on the ground floor a doorway opening into it from the old work to the west. This has a four-centered arched head with an ogee moulding on the western face. The opening seems to be original; otherwise, except for the splay of the two windows and a recess in the east wall, mentioned below, nothing remains.[1] The dimensions of the room are 24 ft. from east to west by 14 ft. from north to south. On going upstairs, however, the building now

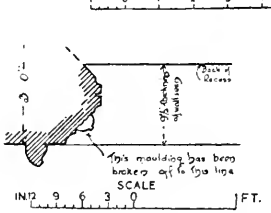
[1] The plans and Plate VII show that these two window openings are narrower, and not set exactly below the upper ones, which preserve the splays of the 13th-century openings. They probably date from the 17th century.



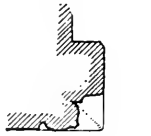
DOORWAY ON UPPER FLOOR AT WALTON PLACE

?ORIGINALLY EXTERNAL.

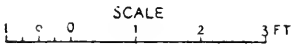


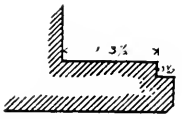


Section through jamb of window with head mould restored to show size . . . . .



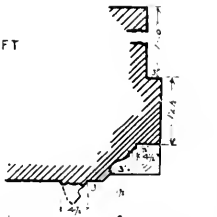
Section thro jamb.





Section thro. head of small doorway

Section thro. jamb of small doorway



Section thro jamb of main doorway also showing size and position of destroyed head mould

possessing three floors, we come across, in what was once the external north wall of the chapel, the remains of the eastern of the two two-light pointed-headed ecclesiastical windows, which lighted the side. (*See* detail, Plate V.) Inspection shows that it had a traceried head, although hardly enough remains to restore the pattern. On entering the room on the upper floor, in the south wall, we find the splayed jambs of the two windows and the commencement of the spring of the heads, but no other traces of the original lighting. Above this room we find ourselves in the roof space with—luckily preserved in the east wall—the jambs and springing of the head of a large east window with, however, no remains of the tracery. The internal width over the splay is 11 ft. The head was destroyed, evidently, when the pitch of the roof was lowered, perhaps through decay, in the 18th century. Below the position of the sill of the east window is a recess which may have had something to do with the altar, but it is almost as likely to point to the former existence of a window possibly closed by the window tax. It should be noted that Plate I shows the western of the two upper windows bricked up. As to fittings, Manning and Bray, if we can believe them, record that a stone pulpit was removed from the building shortly before they wrote in 1785. Their reference to this building in Vol. II, p. 813, of their *History of Surrey*, 1809, is as follows: "The east end of the house was the chapel reaching up to the roof, which is high; at the west end was a stone pulpit. About 1785 this was converted into a parlour, a ceiling was thrown across and the upper part made a bedchamber, in which is the mark of the pulpit." Running the meaning of this passage to the ground has caused me a good deal of trouble, as the Authors speak so definitely of the chapel. But now I think that there is not the slightest doubt that the projecting fire-place bay running up the wall of the great hall (I speak of this later), and having such a peculiar look, when gutted, to untrained eyes, was their "pulpit." I think, as I have already suggested, that Manning and Bray in this case

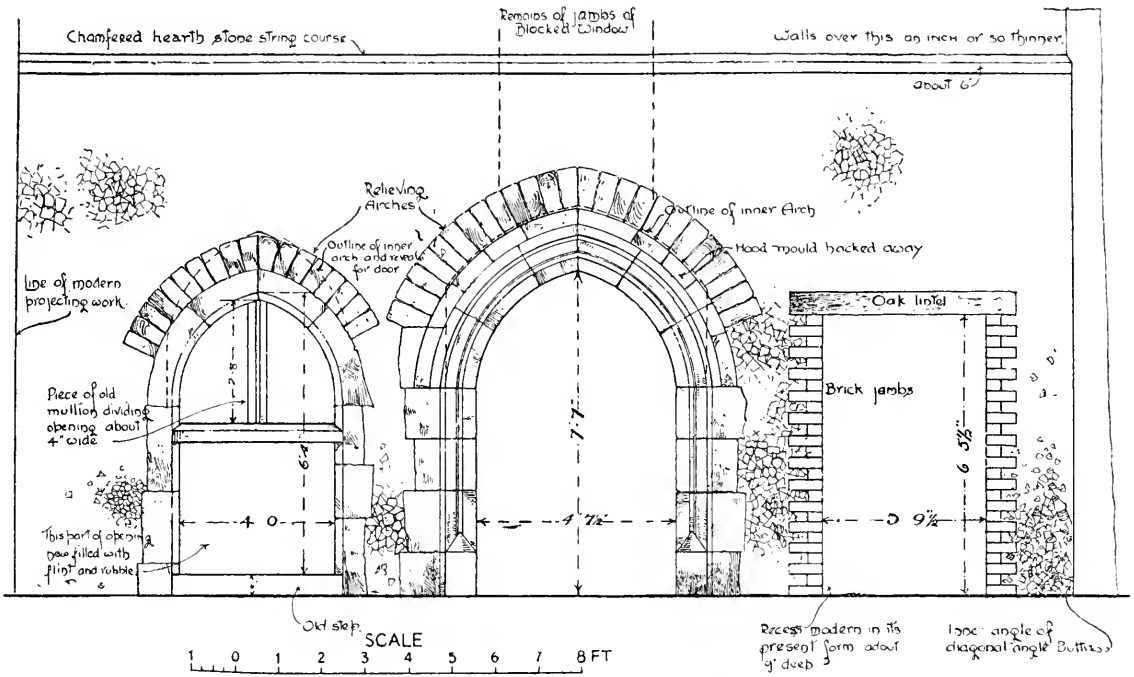
were depending on information derived from a correspondent; or can it have been that Mr. Bray merely put together Mr. Manning's rough notes? On a recent talk with me, a former inhabitant of the parish, Mr. Thomas Fischer, K.C., who knew the house before 1860, stated that a projection, which he said was in the chapel, had been a pulpit, but that when he knew it, it was used for the purpose of a garderobe.

The Great Hall.

On investigating the second old portion of the house to the west, nothing of the earliest date is to be seen, except a projecting mass of masonry which I will describe later, till we get to the west angle where there is a much repaired diagonal buttress (*see* Plate I), and, in the west wall itself, a series of three openings. (*See* Drawing of elevation, Plate VI and Plate III.) This part of the original house I have assumed, for several reasons, to be the great hall, and these openings give colour to the supposition from their being almost undoubtedly the doorways to the pantry, kitchen (by a passage), and buttery. The southern of the three is now only a brick-framed recess in the wall, but the central one is a stone-framed pointed-headed opening with external mouldings running down to a stop $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the ground, while the northern is a similarly proportioned rather smaller opening with plain chamfered angles, stone step at base 6 in. high from present ground level, and reveal inside for door to shut into. No trace of this opening is now to be seen internally, and externally it is built up for half its height and a length of old mullion inserted; but at one time this upper space was evidently glazed and used as a window, the opening in addition being strengthened with iron bars inside.

Internally this section of the house has suffered great changes. In the first place, I think that it is very likely that, as in the chapel, the hall was of the full height of the building, but it has been divided up in a similar

W. END OF GREAT HALL · · WALTON PLACE



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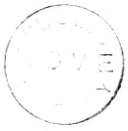

way to the former, and has besides, owing to its size, been cut in half by a wall running from north to south. The great hall originally was an apartment measuring 38 ft. from east to west by 22 ft. from north to south, and still retains, in addition to the doorway into the chapel and the range of openings at the west end which I have described, what looks like an original stone flat-pointed arched doorway at the east end of the north side, and a rectangular cupboard-like recess in the centre of the south wall. This is lighted by a small square opening high up in the wall, obviously of later date. This recess externally shows as a projection measuring 3 ft. by 8 ft., and is continued up the side of the house. In the appended photograph (*see* Plate I), taken about 1865, when the house was in the occupation of the late Charles Bowyer, this feature is shown roofed with a tiled lean-to below the eaves of the main roof. The walls for a considerable height are 2 ft. 6 in. or so thick, but decrease higher up. This projection looked puzzling at first sight, but there seems no reason to doubt that it is the remains of the chimney breast and stack for the fire-place of the great hall which was partly destroyed when the room was cut up in the early 17th century. Mr. Malcolm tells me that this recess formerly communicated by a square hole with the room above. It seems likely that this opening actually was a part of the flue, and that the thin walls of the upper part of the projection took the place of the chimney shaft which was of no use in the altered arrangements. In the new upper room this annexe, being not much more than a cupboard, there would be no reason to carry its walls the full height of the house.

As we have a large part of the four walls of the hall remaining, it is unfortunate that all the other contemporary features, including the windows, have totally disappeared, except perhaps for the splayed jambs of one in a room above the main opening in the west wall below. The lower part of this shows externally as a blocked opening, and if opened out would come below the present floor line. (*See* Plate VI.) The window

must have lighted the western end of the hall above the passage, if there was one, to the kitchen. The other windows must have been all on the south side, as the northern seems to have been built up.

As to the problems connected with the western series of openings, an absolutely satisfactory explanation of the way they were used is by no means easy. That they led or opened into the offices is a likely suggestion, but it does not get over all the difficulties, such as the fact that the mouldings of the larger doorway, now used as an external garden entrance to the house, would be on the kitchen instead of the hall side of the wall. This is rather against my idea of its being part of the passage-way to the kitchen, and might indicate that it was the main entrance to the building. If that was the case, the buttery and pantry might have been projected a few feet into the hall on each side of a short passage, so giving the opportunity for a gallery above them at this end of the hall. The kitchen building would have formed an isolated block to the west. I have been informed that there seem to have been other buildings, besides those existing, to the north and west, as foundations, and cut stonework have been found below the turf in this direction. In Plate I a brick building may be seen attached to this end of the house.

The Interior.

The great hall, or rather the billiard room half of it, on the north, communicates with a curtailed passage running east and west, which had, opening out of its northern side, a range of old buildings. Those now standing may partly be of 17th-century date; but they retain no features of interest. Above the passage runs a second one, entered from the east end through a high pointed-headed doorway, the stone sill of which seems to have been lowered about 6 inches, with, on its outer face, rather elaborate mouldings running down to a sloping stop now some height above the floor. (*See* Plates V and VIII.) Some of the stones composing

WALTON MANOR HOUSE (Present State).

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the opening are modern restorations, others hardly so. To complete the at first sight puzzling nature of this doorway, on its plain western side it retains the lower of a pair of solid hinge staples, from which was evidently hung a massive door. (*See* Plate V.) The evidence remaining as to this doorway seems to show that it was once external, entrance to the upper floor of the house being gained by a wood or stone flight of steps rising from a court-yard. Admitting this, we should expect that this doorway would serve several rooms, but unless there was something over the hall, its sole use seems to have been to lead to the secondary range of buildings mentioned above. A few feet inside this on the north side is a stone chamfered-angled doorway with a very flat pointed-arched head, admitting by two steps to a bedroom, and evidently originally giving access to the upper floor of the secondary range. (*See* Plan, Plate IV.)

The wall on the south side of the passage is now only a thin partition one, but it follows the irregular line of the wall below. About the end of the first quarter of the 17th century extensive changes were carried out, evidently in order to convert the house to the needs of the day, and perhaps to reduce it from the stiff manorial dwelling to the status of a "place," the occupier himself farming the land round. From the evidence of the early registers, members of the Beddington Carews manifestly lived here, but for how long, we cannot say. It is possible that the house and land round were leased by one of them in the late 17th century. But from that period probably dates the decay which gradually overtook the house in the hands of a farming tenant. Without going into private papers it is hard to clear up some of these points, but we know from the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1817, and from a list of the owners of the land of the parish dated 1828, which has been consulted by the writer, that Mrs. Anne Paston Gee, as lady of the manor, then owned this land, and that, as I have mentioned, a family of farmers named Ede had lived there for many years. Mrs. Gee,

sister-in-law of Richard Gee Carew, who was a great-grandson of Sir Nicholas Carew (1635—1687-8), succeeded on his death as sole heiress of the main branch of the Carews. On her death, in 1828, the manor became the property of her cousin, Admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowell, who then took the name of Carew.

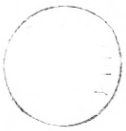
Evidence of the 17th-century remodelling of the house is now observable in the ancient hall and chapel, and formerly in the kitchen which lately occupied the western half of the hall. This last, with an ancient chimney stack (*see* Plate I), disappeared during the 19th-century changes, the fire-place, oven, &c., in the western half of the old hall being pulled down, and the additional space, with some to the north, thrown into the present drawing-room. The hall, in the early-17th century, thus was divided transversely by a wall with fire-places for the newly-formed rooms, so dispossessing the ancient fire-place in the centre of the south wall. (*See* Plan.) This useless space was probably therefore partitioned off, and was then lighted with a square stone-framed window, with a straight hood mould. It is now a cupboard. Besides this an upper story was made to get more bedroom accommodation, and a fire-place constructed in the eastern of the pair of rooms above the one below. This insertion of floors also took place in the chapel, and here, in the upper room, there is a fire-place of similar type to the one in the room above the present billiard-room, or eastern half of the old hall. These two fire-places are of the local hearth or fire-stone, and have square heads with a shallow incised recurring ornament. The one in the chapel bedroom is perfect (*see* Plate VIII), but the head of the other, evidently during the period of neglect, collapsed, and instead of this being replaced or repaired, the opening, with half of the head on one side missing, has been partly filled up and a poor cast-iron grate of the period inserted.

At the reconstruction a different arrangement of the windows became a necessity, and now the old chapel alone retains evidence of the way it was lighted. More

Exterior of doorway on upper floor (formerly external).

17th cent. fireplace in upper room in 13th cent. chapel.

WALTON MANOR HOUSE.



than that, with change and decay, only fragments of two of the windows that lighted the house during the second or 17th-century period remain, and they were found during the last work undertaken buried under the plaster. These partly recovered openings light the billiard room and the bedroom above, and probably occupy the position of the window of the upper end of the great hall. (*See* Plates III and VII.) They are, or were originally, of four lights, with transomes in the upper part, and have typical mouldings of the early-17th century. (*See* Plan.) The existence of these windows was made known during the alterations carried out in 1891, and they were then opened out and completed according to a design made by the architect. The restoration hardly follows the original lines, but the peculiarity is partly due to the fact that the centre of the lower one was once occupied by a doorway, the traces of which have not yet been done away with. No trace of the 17th-century fenestration, if ever carried out, remains in the lower room occupying the ancient chapel, but opening into it at the west end of the north wall is an oak-framed doorway with mouldings and angle stops that belongs to the period, and must have connected it with some part of the house which has totally disappeared. This now forms a cupboard in the hall. The recess in the east wall may have no ecclesiastical meaning, but may indicate the position of a 17th-century window.

From the style of the windows in the rooms occupying the chapel, the low pitch of the roofs, and the brick patchwork, it seems that the old house saw a few changes during the 18th century. The occupiers evidently followed the newish fashion of replacing its casemented windows by those of the sash type. During this work they doubtless also found that the roofs were in such a bad state that to save them at all it was necessary to cut off the decayed ends of the rafters and rebuild them at a lower pitch with as much of the old materials as were available.

With the completion of my investigations into the

surroundings and history of one among many scores of almost unknown, but probably in many cases equally valuable structures, which it is impossible to replace in these days, I must sincerely thank the owner of such an interesting house for the help he has given me, and also all the previous writers on the antiquities of the county for leaving it till now practically undescribed. For the permission to reproduce the two early photographs of the house and its surroundings, and the one showing it in its present state, I must also thank Mr. George May, photographer, of Walton, who has been long connected with the village.

In the preparation of this paper, I am largely indebted to my father, Mr. William Stebbing, of Frith Park, for his advice and literary criticism. Grateful acknowledgment must also be tendered to Mr. P. M. Johnston, F.S.A. Mr. H. E. Malden I thank for his invariable kindness and invaluable help, especially in the part dealing with the manorial history.

SURREY WILLS,

PROVED IN

THE PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY IN 1609.

COMMUNICATED BY

MISS ETHEL STOKES.

Garret Breene, of Wansworthe, co. Surrey, 30 January, 1600 [-1].

[*sic*] { Garret Breene, servant to our lady the Quenes Maiestie.
{ To Mris Johane Breame, wife unto Mr. Richarde Breame of Wannesworthe in Surrey, gent., my goulde rynge with a Turkeys stone—Edward Bartlett, son of John Bartlett, late sergeaunt of her Maiestie's wyne sellar—Mr. William Rhoades, now one of the officers thereof—William Freeman, servante to Mr. Breame aforesaid —Jane Britton, ditto—Anne Quint, late daughter of Thomas Quint, sometime one of her Maiestie's watermen, dwelling at or near the Three Cranes over against the watermen's hall in London—Mary Quint, her sister—Robert Phippes, clerk of the parish clerk of Wannisworthe—Roger Price, servant to Mr. Breame. Executor: Mr. Richard Breame. Garret Breene, his mark. Ita est per me Robertum Phipps scriptorem.

Proved 3 Jan. 1608 [-9] by the executor named. Confirmed by definitive sentence in Trinity term 1614.

(*Dorset*, 6.)

John Hammond, of Lambethe, Yeoman, 20 January, 1608 [-9].

I give my body to be buried in the parish church of Lambeth. John Burnam, my sister's son—My sister Gillian Burnam—Edward Gubbins—The wife of John Ackland—The wife of Peter Pickavant—Edward Jones, son of Robert Jones, fisherman. I make my mother, Anne Pickman, and Heughe Pickman my executors.

Proved 2 Feb. 1608 [-9] by the executors.

(*Dorset*, 12.)

Robert Smith, of Chertsey, 16 January, 1608 [–9].

The nuncupative Will of Robert Smith. He willed that his wife Elizabeth should have the annuity of £40 he had formerly granted her. To the poor of Badwell Ashe, 20*s*. To the poor of Chertsey, 20*s*. The residue to be equally divided among his children Thomas, Robert and John Smith, and Elizabeth Morice.

27 Feb. 1608 [–9] commission issued to Elizabeth Smith, the relict, to administer.

(*Dorset*, 21.)

Henry Baker, of St. Olave's, Southwark, Shoemaker.

The nuncupative Will of Henry Baker, son of John Baker, undated. He gave to his daughter named Alice Baker, being about half-a-year of age, her mother, his late wife, being then dead, all that he had, and constituted Abraham Rutter and Rowland Worthington his overseers. He gave to Rebecca Rutter his sister, wife of the said Abraham, a little gold ring with a seal thereon; and to his mother, Joane Baker, an angel of gold, and the key of the settle, telling her there were half-a-dozen pair of shoes there, which she took into her possession before his death.

24 Feb. 1608 [–9] commission issued to the above-named overseers.

(*Dorset*, 21.)

Robert Day, Minister of St. Olave's [Southwark], 23 February, 1608 [–9].

I bequeath my body to be buried under the great stone in St. Olave's churchyard in Southwark. I give to my wife Sibbella Day all my goods whatsoever, as books, household stuff, debts etc., and make her my executor. I give her my house in St. Tanklinges, and all other my houses in St. Olave's, Southwark. Brother Walter Day. I do give my cousin Henry Emery to my wife, to be brought up by her, till he be fit to be put to prentice; and also my cousin Ellin Webb, till she be 21 or married—Cousin Francis Webb 40^{s}, on her marriage. (Signed) Robert Day.

Witnesses: Wm. Foates mark, John Blount, Richard Hollys.

Proved 6 March 1608 [–9] by the executrix.

(*Dorset*, 24.)

John Butcher, of Beddington, co. Surrey, Serving man, 14 March, 1608 [-9].

To my aunt Heward, my mother's own sister, 2 bonds of 20^{s} apiece by the year; to remain, if she die before they be expired, to her son John Heward for the use of his children. Godson Nicholas Bonner, £10 when he comes out of his apprenticeship. I make Francis Mershe my exor. Cousin Catherine Terrell—Godson Richard Newes —God-daughter, Evan Floyd's daughter—Widow Sheprite, my gossip —Newes wife, my gossip—My fellow Bartholomew Teg—Widow Johnson. (John Butcher's mark.) My fellow maids—Widow Clemence—Goodwife Watson—Widow Hatcher—Widow Elton—Widow Newe—Goodwife Sturmy—Widow Wenham—Widow Hey—The six ringers -- Godson John Sheprite—Edward Philips—Cousins Henry Bonner and Nicholas Bonner—George Rose—Nicholas Swan.

Witnesses: Francis Mershe, Thomas Webbe, "John Downies name."

Proved 22 March 1608 [-9] by the exor. (*Dorset*, 26.)

Peter Snelling, of Blechingly, co. Surrey [1608].

Nuncupative Will made when he was lying in the White Lyon as a prisoner there, some three months before his death, which was in Feb. 1608 [-9]. He gave all that he had to his son, Erasmus Snelling, for that he was a dutiful child, and more loving unto him than the rest of his children; and he made him his sole exor.

In the presence of Thomas Underhill, John Brownewend and others.

Proved 10 March 1608 [-9], by the exor. (*Dorset*, 26.)

Thomas Byshop, of Cleygott, Surrey, Yeoman, 27 October, 2 James I.

I give to my wife Elizabeth all my lands in Cleygott and Mearshfeild for her life, if she do keep herself unmarried, with remainder to my eldest son Thomas in tail male; failing heirs male to him, then to my son John. I give also to my wife, as above, my lands called Fyrners *alias* Fyrnes in Abinger, with remainder to my son John. To my daughter Elizabeth, £40 on her marriage. To my daughter Mary £40, which was due to my wife and myself by my uncle's will, on her marriage. To my daughters Frauncis & Ellin, £40 apiece on marriage or at 21. Residuary legatee and executrix: my wife. Overseers: Mr. Thomas Eveline, gentleman, Robert Seemer, Gregory Carpenter, Thomas Howke, who all witness the will (Howke *signing* Hooke).

Proved 17 March 1608 [-9] by the extrix. (*Dorset*, 26.)

Samuel Sparke, now of Barnes, co. Surrey, Clerk, 5 March, 1608 [–9].

To be buried decently in the upper end of the chancel yard, as near to the pulpit, where I did exercise my ministry as conveniently may be. And I hope my good neighbours and loving parishioners will not deny me this small kindness, as to let my body rest in peace and quietness until the general day of resurrection without any molestation, because I look to appear from thence in glory everlasting. I give £4 to my brother Edward Sparke of Carlton-upon-Craven, co. York, clerk, to be bestowed upon his children as a remembrance of their poor uncle. I give him also such of my apparel as he shall think good to wear in remembrance of his poor younger brother—Sister Suzanne, wife of Nathaniell Sampson, clerk, warden of the New Hospital in Leicester, and her children—Sister Dorothy, wife of Morrys Hammon in co. Northampton—Sister Catheryne—Abraham Sowter, son to my late sister Sara—The poor of Barnes—Elizabeth Rogers—Mr. Digby's household, for their kindness towards me. Exors : my brother Edward and Samuel Macham, citizen and stationer of London.

Witnesses : William Rogers, John Woodhouse, Mary Roger.

Proved 6 March 1608 [–9] by Samuel Macham, with power reserved, &c.

(*Dorset*, 26.)

George Delahay, of Reygate, Surrey, Esquire, 31 May, 1608.

I bequeath my body to be buried in the parish church of Reygate.

Whereas I stand bound to Robert Ashley, gent., my brother-in-law, by obligation of one thousand pounds, with condition for the payment of £500 to the use of Jane Delahay, my wife, within certain days of my decease, and whereas notwithstanding the said bond, the meaning of all parties thereunto was that only £400 should be paid in satisfaction of her dower, if I should die before her, therefore if she, within one month of my decease, deliver to my executrix the said obligation to be cancelled, then my executrix shall pay, within six months of the delivery of the said bond the sum of £400, according to our former agreements. I give to Richard Killick, William Frickar and William Stokes, my servants £5 apiece ; to John Frickar and Robert Dudney 40^{s} apiece ; to Dorothy my maid 30^{s} ; to Elizabeth Pilfold & Alice Pavye, servants to my executrix, 20^{s} apiece ; to the poor of Watringbury co. Kent 50^{s} ; to the poor of Reygate 50^{s}.

Residuary legatee & ex^{x} : Katherine Delahay my mother. (Signed) George Delahay.

Witnesses : Geo. Alleyn, Ja. Brookes, Henr. Alleyn.

Proved 11 February 1608 [–9] by Katherine Delahay.

23 June 1621 commission granted to William Seaborne of St. Saviour's Southwark, tailor, to administer the goods of the said deceased, not fully administered by the said Catherine Delahay.

(*Dorset*, 51.)

Translated from the French 31 *January* 1608 [–9].

Noe Gootheram [of St. Saviour's, Southwark], 31 January, 1608 [–9].

After my debts & expenses are paid, one-half of the residue of my goods I give to my wife, and the other half to my daughter Elizabeth Gootheram, when she is of an age to marry; but if she die before her mother, then I give £4 to Nicholas Lechellet & a like sum to John Tiffryes, and these two people shall have the same sum if my wife predecease my daughter. I give 40^{s} to the French church. If my wife and all her children die, I ordain that half the goods remaining at that time shall go to the next of my kin and the other half to my wife's next of kin. Executrix: my wife Elizabeth. Overseers: Nicholas Lechellet & John Teffryes. (Signed) Noah Gootheram.

Witnesses: John Teffryes, Elizabeth Folowe.

If my wife remarry before my daughter Elizabeth marries, then my said wife shall be bound to my two overseers to deliver the moiety of the goods found in my house at such her marriage. (Signed) Noah Gootheram.

Witnesses: Michaell du Chroe, Robert Tirrye (marks).

Proved 5 April 1609 by Elizabeth, relict of the testator.

(*Dorset*, 32.)

John Stable, of the parish of St. Olave's in Southwark, Goldsmith, 23 April, 1609.

My body to be buried "as becommeth." To my wife Elizabeth, a messuage called the Bridgend in Millam, co. Cumberland, with all the goods and profits thereto belonging, which my brother Mathewe Stable standeth bound to deliver to me at every St. James' tide. If my wife will not dwell there, then my brother Mathewe, or his son, or whosoever hath the messuage, shall give her yearly what six or four honest men think meet for her maintenance. On her death or marriage I give the tenement to my brother Mathewe in tail male, according to the custom of the country there used, and according to a deed of sale received from my father Mathewe Stable, etc. My brother Miles Stable—The poor of Millam, and of St. Olave's—The workmen and

labourers of the Bridgehouse—Sister Russell—My brother Miles' daughter. Residuary legatee and executrix: my wife. Overseers: cousin Richard Stable, brother Mathewe Stable, and Mr. Thomas Page. (Signed) John Stable.

Witnesses: William Hone scrivener, Henry Baven, the mark of Thomas Rice.

Proved 2 May 1609. (*Dorset*, 38.)

Thomas Smyth, of Redderif, Marryner, 5 April, 1609.

To be buried in the vault where my first wife lyeth. Brother Daniel Strapie, and my sister his wife—Their three children now living, at 21—Daughters of my brother Edwardes, at 21—Son Thomas Coxe, at 21, to have my whistle, all my sea-books and instruments and my best sea-clothes—Servants and cousins, Pall Renaldes and Thomas Frost—My only daughter Margaret Steevens, and her son Thomas Steevens, shall have my share of the ship called the *Gods guift*, to be sold as soon as may be—Cousin Nicholas Diggens—M[r] John Osborne—My daughter Margaret's husband to have the chain of my whistle—Brother John Reynolds and his children—Elizabeth Cole—Her sister Rashley—Joane Beare—M[r] Each—Wife Mary executrix—Jarvise Hockett. (Signed) Thomas Smyth.

Witnesses: Thomas Hech, Nicholas Cleye.

Proved 16 May 1609. (*Dorset*, 43.)

John Lawnde, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, Vintner, 2 January, 1608 [–9].

Lands bequeathed me by my father Edward Lawnde in Redderith, Surrey, now being in controversy and suit of law; if the same be recovered, I give to my brother Thomas an annuity of £5 out of the same, so long as my term therein endures—Sister Elizabeth Lawnde—Margery Hill—Thomas Baker—George Copcott—Joyce Copcott, widow—Alice, wife of John Wynter—Roger Chubb and Joan, his wife—Agnes Hethell—Rose, wife of Anthony Browne—Daughter Elizabeth Lawnde. Exor: Anthony Browne. Overseers: Nicholas George, sadler, and William Gower, fishmonger. (Signed) John Lawnd.

Witnesses: Anthony Rogers, servant to Edward Jackson, scrivener; mark of Alice Wynter.

Definitive sentence, 18 May 1609, confirming the above will, disputed by Thomas Lawnde, brother of the deceased.

(*Dorset*, 61.)

Hugh Bromefeild, one of the Yeomen of his Majestie's garde, 27 May, 1609.

To be buried in the parish church of Lambeth. Sister Joane—Sister Jane Ash, widow—Sisters Elizabeth Bromefeild the elder and younger—Poor of Westwickham, Bucks—Brothers William and John Bromefeild. Exors : wife Alice and son Robert. Overseers : William White, clerk, and William Keene, husbandman, both of Westwickham (Signed) Hugh Bromefeild.

Witnesses : John Barbor *alias* Howson, scrivener, Christopher Stubbes, Leonard Dodge.

Proved 8 June 1609, by the executrix, with power reserved, etc.

(*Dorset*, 53.)

Thomas Haynes, of Guildford, Innholder, 9 January, 1608 [-9].

Wife Mary—Son George—Kinswoman Margaret Haynes—Child to be borne to me—Son Richard—Daughter Joane. Exor: son Thomas. Overseers: brothers John Crane and Christopher Harward. To sons Thomas and Richard, in tail male successively, the inn called the George in Guildford.

Witnesses: John Derrick the writer, John Crane, Edmund Window, mark of Christopher Harwood, Thomas Haynes.

Proved 14 June 1609 by the exor.

4 Nov. 1613 commission to adm. issued to Gertrude Haines, relict of the exor.

(*Dorset*, 53.)

John Milles the elder, of Guildford, Clothier, 26 September, 1608.

The poor of the 3 parishes—Reparations of St. Mary's—Son Thomas (at 21)—Youngest son Francis, and his master, Mr. Bates of London, haberdasher—Son John—Daughter Sara, wife of William Figg—John Cowper, one of the sons of the said Sara, and his brother Edward Cowper, both under 24—the other children of my said daughter, which she had by Jeremye Horsnayle, her late husband, deceased, *viz.* : Sara, Thomazine, John and Thomas Horsnayle, all under 21—John, Jane and Sara Lee, children of my late daughter Agnes Lee. Brother Thomas Milles of Thursley, 5*s.* yearly out of my house and garden in Guildford, where I dwell. Wife Thomazine—Son Robert—Friend Mr. Austen of Guildford. To my son Robert, my dy-house in Guildford, with all the fattes, furnaces, etc.—Money due from Thomas Cowley, citizen and grocer of London. Matthew Figg, my daughter's

child. Executors: sons Robert and John. Overseers: Mr. Thomas Parkhurst, Mr. Thomas Streete of Guildford, John Christmas of Guildford and William Figg, my son-in-law. (Testator's mark.)

Witnesses: George Austen, the marks of Frauncis Doling and John Tisbury, John Christmas, Robert Milles.

Codicil, dated 27 April, 1609.
Servant Ursula Boone—Mr. Keys, parson of St. Mary parish.
Witnesses: George Austen, John Derrick junior.

Proved 21 June 1609. (*Dorset*, 54.)

Ottowell Wylde, of Southwark, Surrey, Gent., 20 May, 1600.

Son William, all the furniture in my study and other rooms in my occupation, being parcel of the house of Lord Mountagute—Friend John May, all my physick bookes—Mary Caldwell, the goods her father has in custody—Son William's five children: William, Mary, Margaret, Florence and Catherine (under 24)—Joane Waters, my woman—Son-in-law Mr. Florens Caldwell, exor, to have the great picture in my study. Overseer: son William. (Signed) Ottowell Wylde.

Witnesses: Edward Wybarne, John Walker, Richard Evelen, Arthur Horseman.

16 June 1609 commission issued to William Wilde, son of the deceased, to administer, the exor renouncing.

(*Dorset*, 64.)

Edward Gillam, of St. George's, Southwark, Feltmaker, 27 March, 1609.

Wife Alice Guillam—Poor of St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, London—Henry Metcalf of the same parish, feltmaker; his son Thomas—William Thomas, dwelling in the Blackfryers, London, feltmaker—Edward Williams of the same, feltmaker—Christ's hospital, London—The schoolmaster and poor scholars of the free school of St. Paul, London—Dr. Overall, Dean of St. Paul's—Dr. Tigh, Archdeacon of Middlesex—Brother-in-law Thomas Grayell of Huntingford, Glos.—Edward Owen of Gloucester—My imprisonment in the Poultry Compter, London, where I was imprisoned by means of my wife and her lewd consorts. Thomas Pillion, steward of the Hole in the said compter, for his pains in saying divine service every day to the poor prisoners, and for his kind usage of me, £20. To Richard Howlett, my fellow-prisoner—William Eglestone, my fellow-prisoner, in regard of

the pains he hath taken with me in my sickness—Fellow-prisoner John Terry—Friend Edmund Conny—Mr. William Budd, one of the keepers of the Compter—John Crockford of Southwark, waterman—James Crockford, his eldest son. Exors: John Crockford, William Budd and Edmund Cony—Robert Senell. (Testator's mark.)

Witnesses: Nicholas Slater, scrivener, William Iremonger, Marke Harryson, the marks of Stephen Randall and Robert Nicolls.

(*Dorset*, 65.)

William Nickolls, of Kingston, co. Surrey, Linnendraper, 7 April, 1609.

Wife Mary to have my freeholds and copyholds for life—Son Nathaniell, freehold land at Worton—Son John, house in Kingston, which Raph Gold dwelleth in—Son Thomas, two cottages and land at Whiten, according to the custom of the manor—Daughters Mary (under 21) and Hester. Exor: son Nathaniell. Overseers: John Wonon of Kingston and William Dalehe. By me William Nicholls.

Witnesses: Ruth Farley, the marks of Florence Philip and Blanch Reue.

Proved 12 July 1609. (*Dorset*, 68.)

Thomas Ware, of the parish of St. Mary Overyes, co. Surrey.

Nuncupative Will, made 1 July 1609, the same day sevenight that he died.

Brother George Ware. Ex^{x}: wife Elizabeth.

Witnesses: Sara Tether, widow, that watched with him, her mark; the mark of Jane Dupper.

Proved 18 July 1609. (*Dorset*, 75.)

William Jones, of Carsalton, co. Surrey, Gardener, 7 July, 1609.

Brother James Jones of Long Ditton; his three children now living (under age); their mother—Margerie, my own sister's daughter, now servant to my said brother—The said Margerie's brother—The two sons of my brother Thomas Jones (under age)—Henry Shewer of Sherley in the parish of Croydon, and his wife; his three children

now living—Elizabeth Redford my servant—The six usual weeders in my master's garden, viz.: the widows Wenham, Ley, New and Hatcher, and Goodwives Sturmie and Watson—The churches of Carsalton and Beddington. Ex^{x}: wife Joan. Overseers: John Hall, miller, and John Parker, maltman, both of Carsalton. (Testator's mark.)

Witnesses: Fraunces Mersh; the marks of John Bower and Thomas Rogers.

Proved 28 July 1609. (*Dorset*, 75.)

John Frende [of the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey], 1 August, 1608.

Sister Cadge and her children—Sister Russell's children—Friend Mr. Philip Moys and his wife—Their son John Moys, my godson—Friends Mr. Bristow Pigeon and his wife, Mr Edward Fouke and his wife, Mr Francis Ingoldsby—Mr Fouke's daughter Mary, my goddaughter—Mr Robert Dorrington and his wife; their daughter Elizabeth, my goddaughter—Cousin and goddaughter Ursula Royston; all the rest of my cousin Ambrose Roystones children. Ex̃ors: the said Ambrose Royston and my friend William Bridge. (Signed) John Frend.

Witnesses: Thomas More, Henry Filder.

Proved 19 Sept. 1609. (*Dorset*, 85.)

Nicholas Savage, dwelling with Mr. Salter of the White Hart in Southwark, 29 August, 1609.

To be buried in St. Mary Overies churchyard. My mother—My brother Edward– My four sisters.

Witnesses: Nicholas Campyon, the mark of Elizabeth Vavon.

25 Sept. 1609 commission issued to Edward Savage, brother of the deceased, whilst he lived of the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark, to administer etc.

(*Dorset*, 87.)

William Pestle of Southwark, Inholder and Servaunt to King James, 7 March, 5 James I.

To be buried in church of St. George the Martyr. Eldest daughter Jane Fookes, and her children—Daughters Agnes, Joan and Margaret (under 21) Pestle—Thomas and Mercie, son and daughter of Alexander

Fookes—Brother John Pestle—All my sisters—Cousin Richard Uden Ex^{x}: wife Joane. Overseers: son-in-law Alexander Fookes, William Paynter my fellow, Philip Bolte and John Kyng. (Testator's mark.)

Witnesses: Henry Hahorde, scrivener, John Kyng, the mark of William Paynter.

Proved 28 Sept. 1609. (*Dorset*, 89.)

Joane Yorke, Widow, 24 August, 1597.

To be buried in the chancel of the parish church of Richmond, co. Surrey, so near to the body of my late husband, Mr. Bartholomew Yorke, as one stone may cover us both, whereupon shall be put some such epitaph touching us both as shall seem good to my executors. My body shall be lapped in a good sheet and laid in a coffin, and a sheet of my own spinning of three breadths laid over me, and 2½ yards of black cloth of 10*s.* the yard to cover the coffin, and two fine damask napkins of my own across over the coffin; and £5 shall be spent in a dinner or supper at my burial among my friends and neighbours at Richmond—My maids Joane Retherope, Joane Crofton, Mary Hurtcombe, Barbara Parsons—Sister Millett—Nephew George Millet—Niece Pitts—Mary Weatherall, her mother and brother—Elizabeth Pitts—My sister Margaret's children—Mary Hurtcombe, my sister Jane's daughter, and her two other children—Anne Byrd, daughter to Edward Byrd—Elizabeth Weatherall—My nephew Pitt's children—My nephew Millett's children—Nephew Edward Parker—Stuff in my own lodging chamber at Richmond, and in my chamber at Rounsefall—Mr. Edmund Beck—My maid's bed at Charing Cross—My late brother, Mr. Anthony Martyn—Mr Robert Shelley—Mr Cocks—Mr. Brock that is deaf—Mr. Fookes—Mr. Trevor my godson—Mr Eatherly—Mr Anthony Weddon—Lady Gorge and Mrs Gorge, her mother—Mrs Boyse—Mrs. Harbert—Mrs Wright—Mrs Kirkham—Mrs Etherley the widow—Mrs Packer—Joan Man—Sewell's son—Margaret, Mr. Charleton's daughter—Robert Man—William Cooke—Sara Sparks—Elizabeth, Ralf Lovell's daughter—My brother Anthony Martyn's house at Richmond; a rent from the same to remain at my death to Mr. Thomas Brigham—Goodwife Henshawe—Mr Knight, vicar of St. Martin in the Fields. The poor of Richmond, Twickenham, Mortlack, Istleworth (commonly called Thistleworth) and Petersam. Exors: Mr. Beck and Mr. Brigham aforesaid—William Powell the scrivener—Mr John Boldney of Tylehurst. (Signed) Joane Yorke.

Witnesses: Martin Goffe, Lucie White, Margaret Gorge.

Codicil 29th Aug. 1597. Mr. Edward Williams.

Witnesses: Margaret Gorge, Mary Hurtcombe, Joane Rethernp.

Proved 5 Sept. 1609. (*Dorset*, 95).

Anthony Smyth, Citizen and Grocer of London, 25 September, 7 Jas. I.

The poor of the three parishes of Guildford, and of St. Saviour's and St. Thomas's, Southwark—Father Mr. Thomas Smyth of Guildford—Mother Joane Smyth—Brother Henry Smyth of Guildford—Joan his wife, and his three children, Henry, Sara and Agnes—Sister Margaret Streete, wife of Richard Streate—Brother Nicholas Smyth, and his two children—Joane Streete, daughter of Richard Street. To Alice Streete, my kinswoman, now dwelling with me, the lease of the Gylden Bell in Southwark—Richard Streete the younger, apprentice in London—Anne, Anthony and Margaret, daughters and son of Richard Streate the elder, my brother-in-law—Richard Smyth, chaplain to the Lord of Dunbarr—Father-in-law Mr. James Pollard—my mother Pollard—Julius Wildey and Elizabeth his wife; his four children William, Richard, Easter and Stephen—Mrs Beaver in London—Mrs Alice Partriff in Rye—Servant William Bowles—My apprentice John Turnor—Servant Anthony Avery—Francis Grove now with me—My neighbour Greene's wife the chandler—Mrs Turnor—Mrs Bucket, midwife—Old Mother Cotton—Elizabeth Dillicate, servant to Henry Smyth—The Grocer's Company. Ex^x^ my wife Alice. My three children, Joane, John and Alice Smyth (under 21)—Martin Massam, wife of Mr. Thomas Massam—Mr. Symonds, preacher—Mr. Francis—The churchwardens of St. Saviour's and their company. Overseers: my father, Thomas Massam, merchant tailor of London, Mr Raphe Greve of Canterbury, and Mr Francis Kilborne, attorney. Houses bought of Anthony Norman, John Hardyman and Mr. William Knight in Kent—Three houses bought of Mr. Richard Turner in Southwark—Copyhold at Robertsbridge—Copyhold bought of Mr. Humphrey Cheeke, lying in two of the tenants' hands, in Sandy Marsh.

Witnesses: Robert Peniell, writer of this Will; Julius Willdey.

Proved 7 Nov. 1609. (*Dorset*, 96.)

Philip Plysaert, "Tuftaffata" Weaver, born at "Valenchienne," and now dwelling in the parish of St. Mary Overie's in Southwark, 7 October, 1609.

Ex̃ors: wife Elizabeth and friend William Griffin—Children John, Philip and Elizabeth Plysaert. (Signed) Philip Plysaert.

Proved 15 Nov. 1609 by William Griffin, the executrix renouncing.

(*Dorset*, 99.)

John Jefferson, of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen in Barmondsey, 9 October, 1609.

To be buried in parish church of St. Mary Magdalen—Eldest daughter Katherine Potter—Her two sons Ellys Miller and Hugh Miller—Hugh Robinson and John Robinson, sons of my daughter Johane Mathewes—The fee simple of my now dwelling-house in this parish—My lease of the house wherein Thomas Gilbert now dwelleth—The first born girl of my daughter Potter, that she had by this husband (under 14)—Any more children they have hereafter—To my son Potter, a short sword I had of my son Mathewes—Isabell Beetell and her husband Peter Beetell—Servant John Tyers—Matthew Williams—Land in Blackemanstreete—Lease that I hold from Magdalen College, Oxford—The profits of the houses on the Cawsey, the poores money of this parish being deducted and paid—John Miller, eldest son of my daughter Katherine Potter—Lease of a house by Battell bridge wherein one Duffeilde now dwelleth—Company of Leathersellers, whereof I am a member—Mr. Elton, my pastor and teacher, to preach my funeral sermon. Ex^{x} wife Anne. Overseers: Mr. Edward Elton and Gerrard Pithum. (Testator's mark.)

Witnesses: Edward Elton, George Pithum, Isabell Beetell, Goodwife Griffin, Goodwife Raben.

Proved 22 Nov. 1609, after definitive sentence confirming the will, disputed by Katherine Potter and Joan Mathewes, daughters of the deceased.

(*Dorset*, 112.)

John Dodd, of Waddon, in the parish of Croydon, Yeoman, 21 November, 1609.

John Charlwoode and his wife—his child, my god-daughter—John Bettes, son of Richard Bettes of Croydon, carpenter—Harry Thornton—Thomas Dodd, clerk of the parish of Croydon. Ex̆or: cousin William Dodd. Overseers: Richard Bettes and Richard Windover. (Testator's mark.)

Witnesses: John God, Richard Windover, John Wesbe, the marks of Richard Bettes and John Charlewood.

Proved 24 Nov. 1609. (*Dorset*, 103).

Andrew Osborne, Citizen and Haberdasher of London [of the parish of St. Olave, in the borough of Southwark], 8 November, 1609.

To be buried in St. Toolie's churchyard—Brother Edward Osborne—My part of the tenements, which descended to me as one

of the sons and coheirs of John Osborne, late of Hartlip, Kent, dec^{d}; a tenement with 3 acres of land called Dane—Lands held by lease from St. Catherine's—Our house at Hartlip called the Place—Brothers John and Richard Osborne—Sisters Elizabeth Osborne *alias* Smithson, Agnes Scott and Jone Ruddiard. Exor: my brother Edward Osborne. (By me Andrewe Osborne.)

Witnesses: Goodman Offin's mark and his wife's mark.

Proved 14 Dec. 1609. (*Dorset*, 107.)

Anthony Mason, of Battersey, Yeoman, 28 November, 1609.

Exor: Robert Morgan of Battersey, gentleman—Mrs Elizabeth Morgan, his wife—Kind friend Abell Morgan—Elizabeth Morgan, daughter of Robert Morgan—Elizabeth Haye, grandchild to the said Robert—Lease from the said Robert Morgan of 10 acres in the Marsh, now in the occupation of William Lambe and William Fletcher of Battersey—Friend and fellow Thomas Lovell, now servant to Robert Morgan—Brigett Brooke, kinswoman to my mistress—£30 now in controversy between one Garlandes and me—Annis —, now dwelling in Westminster with one Mr. Walter Underhill—Good friend Mr. John Morgan, to make a godly sermon at my burial—John Abbottes of Battersey—£4 to be spent at Goodman Lambe's, in a drinking for the whole town of Battersey—John Abthorpe, citizen and girdler of London—Lucy Clarke, sister to the foresaid Robert Morgan—John Oliver of Battersey—Mary Oliver, his wife—Elizabeth Rise, his servant—Nephew Edmond Mason—Joan —, dwelling at Farringham [*sic*] in Kent. (*Per me* Anthonium Mason.)

Witnesses: John Spencer, the marks of John Shermandine and Henry Taverner.

Proved 7 Dec. 1609. (*Dorset*, 115.)

Richard Hayward, of Tattesfeild, Yeoman, 16 June, 1608.

To be buried in the parish church of Tattesfeild, right against the seat where I used to sitt—Kinsman Thomas Hayward of Tattesfeild—John Hayward of Bromelodge—Son Robert Hayward—Money in hands of Edward Leigh—Son Henry—Goodman Leighe may occupy the money till the boy's time be out, 4 years—Edward Welles—John Obbertes son, which he had by Acesye's daughter, being my wife's godson—Johane Derkin, my daughter's daughter—My daughter

Johane's two children—My daughter Annesse's two boys, Richard and Edward—Leases of Masehills and Skyddes. Son Michael exor. My wife. Overseers: brother Henry Hayward and William Leighe. (By me Richard Hayward.)

Proved 20 Dec. 1609. (*Dorset*, 116.)

Sir Frauncys Wolley, of Pirford, Knight, 11 August and 1st November, 1609.

To be buried in St. Paul's church, London, at the feet of my father and mother, and I give £4,000 to that end, and to have a fayer tombe for them and myselfe represented lying at theire feete. To the said church £10 yearly out of my estate in Thorpe, Chertsey and Egham during such tyme as that tombe shall remayne undefaced, and none of those bodyes digged up or otherwise from thence removed, and no longer. Mrs. Jeane Herris, eldest daughter to Lady Cordelia Herris of Essex, an annuity out of my lands in Pirford to be paid yearly at the place where the Exchange now is, in the parish of Cornewall [*sic*] within the city of London. I give my manor of Burgham and my lands at Jahdenn, Burgham, Stoke or Worplesdon, with all writings concerning the same, to that maiden child that was christened by my wife and Mrs. Bridgit Weston in Pirforde churche, and called by the name of Mary Wolley, to her and her heirs; remainder, in default, to Sir Arthur Mainwaringe, now eldest son to Sir George Mainewaring of Hefeild in Shropshire, and Sir George Moore of Losley, Surrey, knight, in tail successively—Said Mary Herris [*sic*] to remain in the custody of the said Mrs. Jeane Herris—Cousin William Minterne, now resident at Haleplace House in Thorpe—Mr. William Halton, younger brother to Sir Roger Halton of Lincolnshire, knight—Mr. William Denham of Thorpe, brother to Mr. John Denham, the counsellor at law—Mrs. Susan Cammokke, that weighted uppon my wife—Cousin Elizabeth Minterne. (Signed) Fran. Wolley.

Witnesses: Jo. Finche, George Smithe, George Turner, William Halton, Lyonell Rawlinges.

Cousin George Mainwaring—Mrs. Jeane Harris—Mr. Robert Bacon, gentleman.

Servants: Lionell Rawlinges, George Smithe, Jenkyn Thomas, Richard Vaughan, Richard Younge, Francis Rockoll, William Swanton, Raffe Sadler, John Hiller, William Norman. Exors: Sir Arthur Mainwaring and William Minterne.

Proved 12 Dec. 1609.

(*Dorset*, 118.)

John Darbishire, whilst he lived, of the parish of St. Olave's, in the Borough of Southwark, Merchant, Citizen and Fishmonger of London, nuncupative Will, 1st Aug. 1609.

Exor: Mr. Deverox Woogan of London, merchant. Wife Mary Darbishire — Tenement and ground in Teynter Alley, Southwark, which he had by lease—Brother Alexander Darbishire—Tenements at Gravesend, Kent—Brother William Darbishire.

Proved 7 Aug. 1609. (*Dorset*, 121.)

THE SITE

OF

THE GLOBE PLAYHOUSE OF SHAKESPEARE.

BY

WILLIAM MARTIN, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A.

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INTRODUCTION, WITH ALLUSIONS TO SOME IMPORTANT INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF "THE GLOBE" AND OF ITS SUCCESSOR.

IN October 1909, a pictorial bronze commemorating Shakespeare's Playhouse, "The Globe," was unveiled by Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, on behalf of "The Shakespeare Reading Society," of which Sir Herbert is the President. The bronze was fixed upon a wall of the Brewery of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins and Co., Limited, the wall being situated upon the south

side of Park Street, that portion of Park Street which runs east and west in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, a hundred feet to the north of the supposed site of the Playhouse (*v.* Ordnance map, Plate I).

In deciding upon the position of the bronze, existing evidence, so far as it was obtainable, was carefully scrutinised. Owing, however, to the merging of ownership of many small plots of land, to the demolition and re-erection of sundry tenements and buildings, and to other causes, no such conclusive evidence was forthcoming as to the exact position of the site as would have been afforded by, say, the discovery of foundations. When no trace of the foundations of a structure has been discovered, difficulties necessarily present themselves in the endeavour to settle upon the precise spot where such structure stood. This is the case even when but few changes have been made in surroundings: when, however, destruction, rebuilding, variation in ownership of adjacent plots, and general disturbance of environment have supervened, the difficulty in accurately identifying a site is materially increased. In the case of The Globe Playhouse, the alterations to which the physical standards of reference had been subjected were such as to compel collation of allusions to the site before close approximation to certainty was reached. In these circumstances, therefore, reliance had necessarily to be placed upon the cumulative effect of certain facts which, as individual items of proof, were of varying degrees of importance, cogency, or weight.

In this Paper it is proposed to set out and to review the evidence which determined the position of the commemorative bronze. Incidentally, the shape of The Globe also appears. It is hoped that, by drawing attention to the subject in this manner, additional information may be elicited whereby the position of the site, as concluded by the promoters of the memorial, may be checked.

Since this Paper is concerned solely with the site of The Globe, and with matters directly arising therefrom, much of subsidiary interest is omitted. For instance,

the shares into which the ownership of the Playhouse was divided, the owners of the shares, the plays produced, and the method of representing them; also the companies that acted there, and the members of those companies, with the rôles they filled, are all topics which, deserving the fullest treatment, must necessarily be postponed.

In the history of this theatre of Shakespeare and of its successor which bore the same name, The Globe, some well-known incidents stand out prominently. Cuthbert and Richard Burbage, sons of James Burbage, the builder of the "Theatre" at Shoreditch in 1576, failing to obtain a renewal of the lease of twenty-one years of the ground upon which the "Theatre" stood, demolished their playhouse, and on the 28th December, 1598, or, according to another and contemporary authority, on the 20th January, 1598/9, removed the remains to Bankside in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark.[1] There the timber playhouse was re-erected and became known as The Globe. The cost of the buildings was said to be £600, "but, upon better evidence, approximately £400."[2] The ground upon which The Globe was built was leased from Nicholas Brend, of West Moulsey, to Cuthbert and Richard Burbadge, William Shakespeare, Augustine Phillips, Thomas Pope, John Hemynges, and William Kempe, from the 25th December, 1598, for the term of thirty-one years. The rent reserved was £14: 10*s.* per annum, the date of the lease being the 21st February, 1599.[3]

An early reference "to the late erected Plaiehowse On the Banck in the said p'ishe of Ste Saviour's Called the Globe" occurs in the contract, dated 8 Jan., 1599/1600, for the erection of the Fortune Playhouse

[1] P. R. O., Star Chamber Proceedings, 44 Eliz. (1601), A. xii, 35; Coram Rege Roll, 1362, Trin., 42 Eliz., rot. 587; Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 1889, I, 358 *et seq.*; *The Athenæum*, Oct. 16th, 1909, *per* Mrs. Stopes.

[2] *The Times*, Oct. 2nd, 1909, *per* Dr. Wallace.

[3] P. R. O., Coram Rege Roll, 1454, 13 Jas. I, Hil., m. 692; *The Times*, Oct. 2nd and 4th, 1909, *per* Dr Wallace.

at Cripplegate.[1] In 1600/1, the Globe is mentioned as a place of assembly, on the 7th February, the eve of Essex's ill-starred rising against the Queen's advisers.[2] By letters-patent granted, May 19th, 1603, to Fletcher, Shakespeare, and others, permission was accorded for performing "within their now usual house, the Globe, within our County of Surrey."[3] The original Globe was destroyed by fire on the 29th June, 1613, during a performance of "King Henry VIII" or "All is True," the thatch which covered the galleries being ignited by the negligent discharge of ordnance.[4] The date of the burning is given as 1612 in the MS. additions to *Stow* in the Phillipp's collection at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham.[5] In view of the other evidence, however, it is difficult to believe this date 1612 to be correct.

Ben Jonson, in reference to the fire at which apparently he was present, exclaims:—

> . . . . the Globe, the glory of the Bank:
> Which, though it were the fort of the whole parish,
> Flank'd with a ditch, and forced out of a marish,
> I saw with two poor chambers taken in,
> And razed; ere thought could urge this might have been!
> See the World's ruins! nothing but the piles
> Left, and wit since to cover it with tiles.[6]

In Norden's Map of London and Southwark, 1593, and in many other maps in which Bankside was included, the open ditches to which Jonson alluded and which intersected the locality, are plainly depicted. For an example of one of these ditches, we may refer

[1] Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, 5.

[2] Cal. State Pap. Dom., 1598—1601, 573.

[3] P. R. O., Pat. Rolls, 1 Jas. I, Part 2, m. 4.

[4] *Relig. Wotton.*, ed. 165, 425–6; Howe's *Continuation of Stow's "Annals,"* ed. 1631, 1003–4; Winwood's *Memorials*, III, 469; B. M., Harl. MS. 7002, letter from Lorkin to Puckering; Taylor's *Collected Works*, 1630, Epigram 33, 265; Epigram 22, 31; Prynne's *Histriomastix*, 1633, Part I, Fol. 556.

[5] Collier's *Life of William Shakespeare; Works*, &c., 1844, I, ccxli, *n.* 6; *The Academy*, Oct. 28th, 1882, 314–5, *per* Dr. Furnivall.

[6] *An execration of Vulcan*, written *ante* 27th June, 1629, and printed 1640; *Works of Ben Jonson*, by W. Gifford, 1816, VIII, 420–2.

to the statement in 1797, that under the Globe lay Fountain Alley,[1] an alley which, to-day, is represented by the continuous line of narrow yards at the back of the houses in Anchor Terrace. Along this line a few years ago the sewer-ditch was again uncovered and the silt enclosed in concrete. Complaints as to the conditions of the ditches may be seen in the *Sewers Presentments* for 1640.[2]

The Playhouse was re-erected of wood in the spring of the next year, 1614, on the same site,[3] at a cost of £1,400.[4] "Other contemporaneous documents" show "the cost was far less than £1,400."[5] The value of the Globe in the year 1614 has been estimated at £4,200.[6] It was rebuilt "upon an old foundation" which, if like the bear garden and playhouse of 1613 to the north of Maid Lane, the present east-and-west Park Street, was of brick "13 inches at the least above the ground.[7] According to the MS. addition to Howes' *Stow* of 1631 in the Phillipp's collection, The Globe "is now built up againe in the year 1613, at the great charge of King James and many noblemen and others."[8] "Chamberlain, writing from London on June the 30th, 1614, to a lady at Venice, says: 'I heare much speach of this new playhouse, which is saide to be the fayrest that ever was in England.'"[9] In Goodman's pamphlet, *Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, The Globe was cryptically alluded to as one of the summer amphitheatres visible from the house, Holland's Leaguer, in Paris Garden. The Globe is styled, in a corrected return of 1637, as of the inheritance of Sir Mathew

[1] Concanen and Morgan's *History, &c. of Southwark*, &c., 1795, 225.

[2] Guildhall MS. 170.

[3] Howe's *Continuation of Stow's "Annals,"* 1631, 1004; Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xvii, in Furnivall's *England*, by Harrison, 1878, Part II, Book 3.

[4] Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1889, I, 246.

[5] *The Times*, Oct. 2nd, 1909, *per* Dr. Wallace. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, 21.

[8] *The Academy*, Oct. 28th, 1882, 314.

[9] Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1889, I, 246.

Brand, and worth £20 per annum.[1] In consideration of the sum of £1,400 having been laid out on the rebuilding of the Playhouse,[2] it would appear that at the end of the original lease of thirty-one years,[3] and seemingly of a subsequent term which ended at Lady Day, 1635, a continuation of the lease was obtained by word of mouth from Sir Mathew Brand "for about nine or ten years yet to come." To secure confirmation of this lease, Sir Mathew Brand was sued in the Court of Requests.[4]

In the decision, however, 12 July, 1635, by the Earl of Pembroke, concerning shares in the playhouses, five years is stated as remaining of the lease in The Globe; but this period may be only the share which was the property of the respondent or suppliant in that suit.[5]

The growth of Puritan opposition to the Drama resulted in the Ordinance of the Lords and Commons of September 2nd, 1642, whereby it was ordered "that while these sad causes, and set times of humiliation do continue, public stage-plays shall cease, and be forborne."[6]

Finally, anticipating, as it were, the power conferred on magistrates in 1648, to pull down all stage galleries, seats, and boxes, The Globe Playhouse was "pulled down to the ground by Sir Mathew Brand, on Monday, the 15th April, 1644, to make tenements in the room of it."[7] This date, 1644, corresponds somewhat to the termination of the lease by parol referred to above.

From this time onwards, the position of the site of the Playhouse began to be forgotten, and at the present day it is lost in an obscurity which can be penetrated only by reasoned conjecture.

[1] Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xvii, citing Vestry Papers at Southwark Cathedral.

[2] Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1888, I, 312–16.

[3] *The Times*, Oct. 4th, 1909, *per* Dr. Wallace.

[4] Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1888, I, 312–16. [5] *Ibid.*, 313.

[6] Husband's *Exact Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations*, &c., 1643, 593.

[7] Collier's *Life of William Shakespeare; Works, etc.*, 1844, I, ccxli, *n.* 6; *The Academy*, Oct. 28th, 1882, 314–5.

NORTH.

SOUTH.

Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map, 1896, with the sanction of the Controller of H. M. Stationery Office.

The site of the Workhouse for the poor, upon which the Globe probably stood, and the sites of Globe Alley, with others, have been marked thereon.

face 155.

(2) SOME PRELIMINARY TOPOGRAPHICAL IDENTIFICATIONS.

In the course of this Paper, certain thoroughfares will be mentioned by their former and present names. Thus mention will be made, among others, of Bankside, the Bank, Deadman's Place, Maid or Maiden Lane, Park Street, Globe Alley, and Fountain Alley. At the outset, therefore, it will be convenient for these places to be identified. As an aid, a section from the 60-inch Ordnance map may be invoked, and also the plan by Mr. F. G. Newnham with which the Directors of the Brewery have kindly supplied me (Plate XII).

Many variations in buildings, the closing of sundry passages and small open spaces, and the numerous alterations made from time to time, which must have considerably altered the appearance of the neighbourhood under discussion, are to be traced in the compendious Deed of 1787, by which the conveyance of Thrale's Brewery to Barclay and Perkins was effected.

The terms Bankside, or the Bank, were sometimes used to denote in an indefinite manner the greater portion of the area in which the thoroughfares mentioned lay. Thus, Bankside, in an extended sense, apparently stretched from the garden of Winchester House, which lay to the east—a garden which is still alluded to as late as 1787 in the Brewery deed of that date—to possibly Paris Garden, the modern Christchurch Parish on the west, the northern boundary being the river, and Winchester Park the limit at the south. For some time, however, Bankside has been restricted to the highway which starts westerly from Clink Street on the edge of the river. According to Strype, "The Bankside is very long, running Eastwards unto Deadman's Place; and is a Row of Buildings on the South side fronting the River of Thames, which affords a pleasant Prospect and a Walk by the River side, yet it is a Place not over well built, or Inhabited, except by some few Dyers there seated for the Conveniency of the Water. In this Place called the Bankside, are divers Courts, and Alleys, and Places of Name, most of which

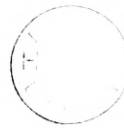
have a Passage into Maiden Lane as appears by the Map."[1]

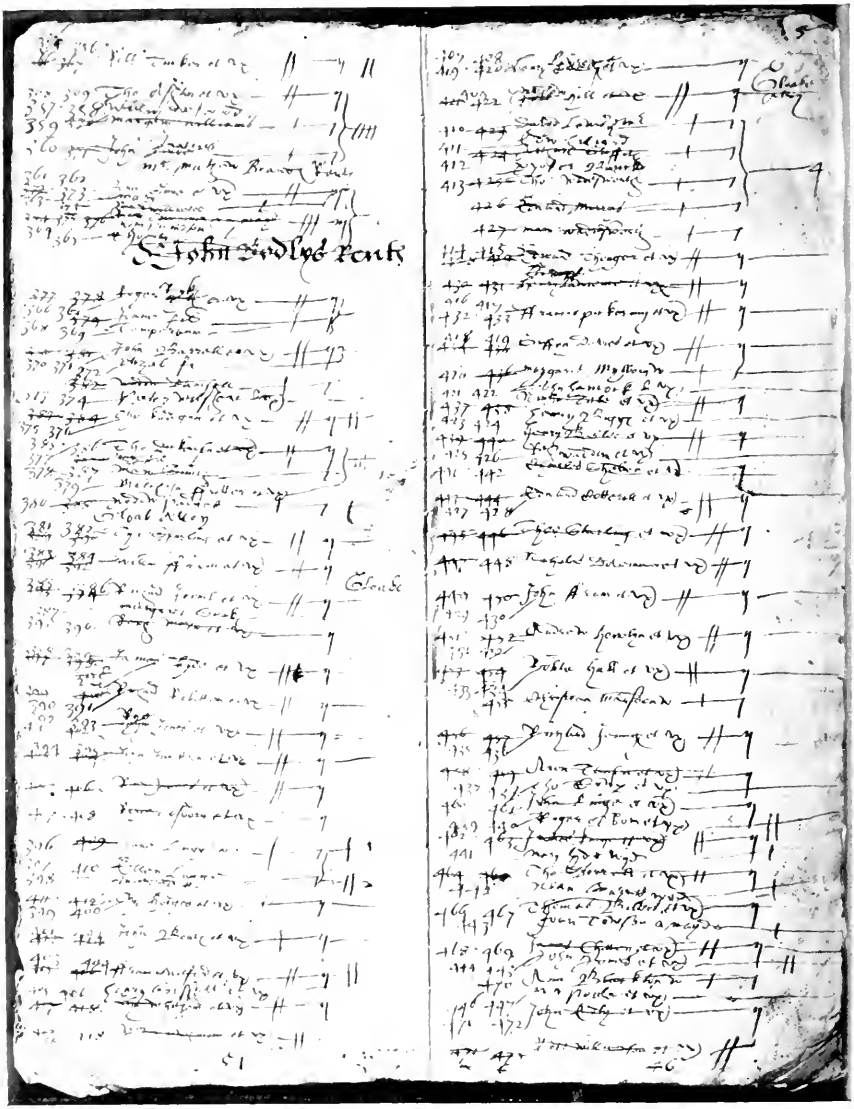
As regards Deadman's Place, it is to-day represented by that arm of Park Street which, at its northern termination, runs southerly from Bankend—Bankend continuing northward to the river. This arm of Park Street contains the main entrance to Barclay's Brewery, and with Bankend runs for some distance approximately parallel with the South Eastern Railway after the railway has crossed the river into Southwark. According to Hatton, "Deadmans Place, a crooked str. between the E. end of the Bankside, Southwork, N. and *New Rents*—S. Ely."[2]

"Deadmans Place," says Strype, "a long, dirty straggling street, of no great Account for Buildings or Inhabitants; It may be reckoned to begin at New Rents, and severing Counter Street from Stoney Street passeth by College Churchyard, and then turning northwards by Red Cross Street runs to the Thames, where it is broad. In this Place is Globe Alley, long and narrow, and but meanly built; hath a Passage into Maiden Lane."[3]

Maid or Maiden Lane started at right angles from the northern extremity of the north-and-south arm of the present Park Street (formerly Deadman's Place) and ran westerly. To-day it forms the east-and-west arm of Park Street. "Maiden Lane, a long straggling Place with Ditches on each side the Passage to the Houses being over little Bridges, with little Garden Plotts before them, especially on the North side which is the best side for houses and inhabitants; this Lane begins at Deadmans Place, and runs Westwards into Gravell Lane."[4] By an Act of Parliament of 1812 (52 Geo. III, ch. 14) power was conferred for widening the east end of the lane, a power which evidently must have been exercised.

[1] Strype, 1720, II, 27.
[2] *New View of London*, 1708, I, 23.
[3] Strype, 1720, II, 28. [4] *Ibid.*





SACRAMENT TOKEN BOOK, 1621.

Folio 4 *verso* and folio 5 *recto*.

Fountain Alley lay approximately at right angles to Maid Lane, opposite Horseshoe Alley which still remains under that name. Fountain Alley opened into Maid Lane on the south side of the lane. Now it forms the line of court-yards of the houses which face what was formerly Anchor Terrace, Southwark Bridge Road. From Park Street, the entrance to the alley is seen in a closed gateway. "In this Maiden Lane is Fountaine Alley which falls into Castle Street, where it is indifferently well built and Inhabited, being Airy, with Gardens to the Houses, and Northwards it falls into Maiden Lane."[1]

Concerning Globe Alley, a fuller notice is desirable. Its site now lies wholly within the premises of the Brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Co. Limited, which, through a succession of purchases, has swallowed up the alley piecemeal. The alley ran from Deadman's Place westerly for some three hundred and eighty feet, one entrance being in Deadman's Place some fifty feet south of the corner of Maid Lane. Instead of continuing under the name of Globe Alley into Fountain Alley, which lay approximately parallel to Deadman's Place, the name seems also to have been applied to one of the alleys which turned at a right angle northerly and opened into Maid Lane. That there was a continuation of Globe Alley into Fountain Alley can be seen from old plans of the Brewery, and may be inferred from a recital in the Brewery Deed of 1787 concerning the boundaries of certain property which lay between "a great ditch or common sewer" upon the south, and "towards the north . . . . in part to the late way or passage leading to Fountain Alley which hath been stopt up and built upon."

In the Coram Rege Roll of 1616, in the case of Osteler *v.* Hemynges (*infra*, p. 161), mention is made of a way or lane which may be reasonably identified with what by that time had begun to be known as Globe Alley.

The genesis of the name "Globe Alley" is to be traced in the "Sacrament Token Books," which are

[1] Strype, 1720, II, 28.

preserved at Southwark Cathedral. These books of the last decade of the 16th century onwards, contain lists of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Saviour, arranged in the order of their residences in the various alleys, rents, lanes, &c.

"About 1614, the place for the first time appears as Globe Alley; before that it was Brand's Rents; 1600, Mr. Brande's Rents; and to 1610 it is still Brande's Rents, and not Globe Alley; but, in 1614, it is Globe Alley, Brand's Rents now Bodlie's; 1620, Globe Alley, Brand's Rents now Bodlye's." [1]

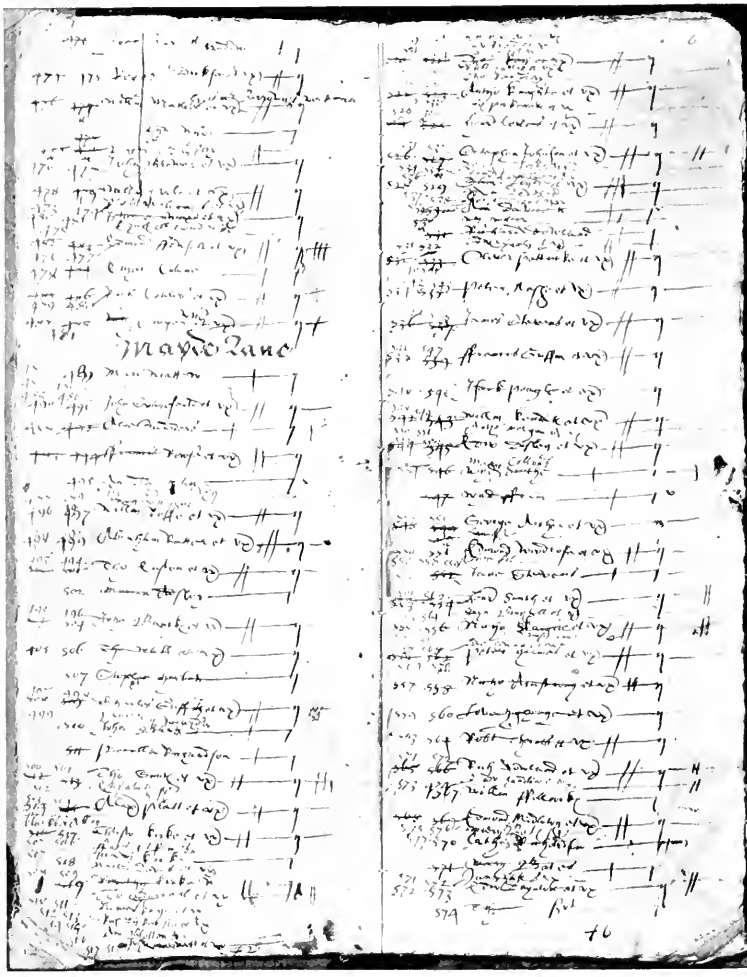
While in 1610, as Rendle has pointed out, "Brand's Rents" only is seen, in 1612 we have "Globe Alleye Brande's Rents," and, in 1613, "Globe Allye Brande's Rents nowe Bodley's." In the Token Book for 1621, a photograph of four pages of which are here given, the relation of Sir John Bodlye's Rents to Gloab Alley may be seen. After the number 380 the words "Gloab Alley" have been inserted, the heading, Sir John Bodlye's Rents, having been struck out.

Proceeding: Globe Alley, with its right-angled formation, is shown on the map of Morden and Lee of 1682 (*v.* p. 196).

Hatton says:—"*Globe alley* on the W. side of Deadmans Place Southwork, a passage to Maid lane." [2] "In this place (*i. e.*, Deadmans Place) is Globe Alley, long and narrow, and but meanly built; hath a passage into Maiden Lane." [3]

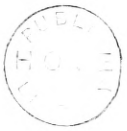
By an Act of Parliament of 1786 (26 Geo. III, c. 120), "for discontinuing the passage through Globe Alley," commissioners were empowered "to stop up the said Alley from Park Street, so far as the premises of Barclay and Company extend." [4] The additional power which was also given for stopping up the remainder of the alley appears not to have been exercised, for by a second Act, viz., 1812 (52 Geo. III, c. 14), the alley was entirely closed. Allusion to the closing of the alley

[1] Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xviii.
[2] *New View of London*, 1708, I, 33.
[3] *Strype*, 1720, II, 28. [4] *Cf.* Horwood's map, 1599, p. 197.



SACRAMENT TOKEN BOOK, 1621.

Folio 5 *verso* and folio 6 *recto*.



appears in reminiscences of Mrs. Piozzi (*infra*, p. 176). Since the enclosure of the alley within the Brewery precincts, a passage, which runs over the eastern extremity of the alley, has been known as "Dark Alley."

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(3) EVIDENCE BEARING UPON THE POSITION OF THE SITE.

Preliminaries having thus been dealt with, the problem as to the exact situation of the site of the Playhouse may now be attacked at close quarters.

The site has been considered for some time to be included within the Brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Co. Limited, an attribution which was strengthened by the researches of the late Mr. Rendle, Medical Officer of Health for Southwark. The results of Rendle's investigations appeared in *Harrison's Description of England in Shakspere's Youth*, 1878, Part II, 3rd Book, published by "The New Shakspere Society," which in this Paper is cited as Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*. Rendle's conclusions were chiefly based upon entries in the "Sacramental Token Books," preserved at Southwark Cathedral, upon references in two title deeds relating to the brewery, and upon a collation of early London maps. Rendle allocated the site to a position closely adjacent to the engine-house, some 80 or 100 feet west of the east corner of (east-and-west) Park Street. In the present investigation, these documents again receive consideration.

As the result of an examination of the whole of the evidence, it is to be inferred that the theatre stood some 120 yards west from the south-east corner of east-and-west Park Street, and upon a plot 100 feet and more south of the present memorial (*v.* Ordnance map, Plate I).

The evidence which bears upon the position of the site may be classified according to its derivation; viz., (A) from documents of a legal, semi-legal, or business character; (B) from printed and oral accounts, which, purporting to describe the position of "The Globe Playhouse," were not, in general, of a legal, semi-legal, or business character; and (C) from 16th- and 17th-century map-views and plans of London and Southwark.

(A) Documents of a Legal, Semi-legal, or Business Character.

There are several documents extant which were drawn up by, or for lawyers in legal proceedings, and in conveyancing and other operations which related to the transference or development of property in the locality under discussion, or were documents employed in semi-legal, official, or in business operations, from which conclusions as to the site of the Globe may be drawn. From the documents it is, of course, apparent that somewhere on Bankside, in the parish of St. Saviour's, formerly St. Mary Overy's, the Playhouse stood. The documents, with a possible exception, indicate the site as being within the Brewery of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins and Co. Limited. Further, the evidence points to the exact site as being outside of and against the right angle which the long arm of the formerly existing Globe Alley made with an alley which turned northwards.

Soon after the erection of the playhouse, its situation is incidentally referred to. These references, however, are too indefinite to be of much service in identifying the site with precision. Thus, in the Bill of Complaint, Allen *v.* Burbage,[1] concerning the demolition of the Shoreditch "Theatre," it is narrated how certain persons did "take and carry awaye from thence all the wood and timber thereof unto the Bancksyde in the parishe of St. Marye Overyes."[2] "The late erected playhouse on the Banck in the said Parish of Saint Saviour's, called the Globe" is the allusion in the contract, January 1599/1600 for the building of the Fortune Playhouse at Cripplegate.[3] "The Globe on the Bankside";[4] "to the Globe over the water where the Lord

[1] P. R. O., Star Chamber Proceedings, 44 Eliz. (1601), A XII, 35.

[2] Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, I, 361; *The Athenæum*, Oct. 16th, 1909, *per* Mrs. Stopes.

[3] Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, 5.

[4] Index to City *Remembrancia*, June 22nd, 1600, 355.

Chamberlain's men use to play";[1] "The Globe scituate in maiden lane on the Banckside in the Countie of Surrey,"[2] "The Globe, Bankside,"[3] are further contemporary references to the situation.

More precise information, however, concerning the situation is to be obtained from the Coram Rege Roll, 1616.[4] This contemporary document, which was discovered by Dr. Wallace, of the University of Nebraska, is of great importance to students of Shakespeare, and compels close attention to all the points with which it deals. In the course of this interesting document, there is set out as preliminary to a claim for damages, in the case of Osteler *v.* Hemynges, the circumstances in which land on Bankside was leased for the building of a playhouse. The lease was for a period of thirty-one years from December 25th, 1598, the lessees being Cuthbert Burbadge, Richard Burbadge, William Shakespeare, Augustine Phillips, Thomas Pope, John Hemynges, and William Kempe. The relevant extracts, which for this Paper Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A., has been good enough to extend, are as follows:—

"Londonia. Memorandum quod alias scilicet Termino Sancti Michælis ultimo præterito coram domino Rege apud Westmonasterium venit Thomasina Osteler vidua administratrix omnium et singulorum bonorum cattallorum jurium et creditorum quæ fuerunt Willelmi Osteler nuper viri sui defuncti qui obiit intestatus ut dicitur per Thomam Farrer attornatum suum Et protulit hic in curia dicti domini Regis tunc ibidem quandam billam suam versus Johannem Hemynges in custodia Marescalli etc. de placito transgressus super casum.

* * * * * *

"Quod cum quidam Nicholaus Brend de West Moulsey in Comitatu Surriensi armiger per indenturam suam tripartitam gerentem datum vicesimo primo die Februarii anno regni dominae Elizabethæ nuper Reginae Angliae quadragesimo primo pro considerationibus in eadem indentura tripartita mencionatis et expressatis dimisisset concessisset et ad firmam tradidisset quibusdam Cuthberto Burbadge et Ricardo Barbadge de Londonia generosis praefato Willelmo Shakespeare et Augustino Phillipps et Thomae Pope de Londonia generosis defunctis

[1] Examination of Sir Gelly Merrick, Feb. 17th, 1601, *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1598—1601, 575.

[2] April 9th, 1604 : Greg's *Henslowe Papers*, 1907, 61.

[3] *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1619–23, 28.

[4] P. R. O., Coram Rege, 1454, 13 Jas. I, Hil., m. 692.

prædicto Johanni Hemynges et Willelmo Kempe nuper de Londonia generoso defuncto totam illam parcellam fundi nuper praeantea inclusam et factam in quatuor separalia gardina nuper in tenuris et occupacionibus Thomae Burt et Isbrand Morris diers et Lactantii Roper salter Civis Londoniae Continentem in longitudine ab oriente usque Occidentem ducentos et viginti pedes assisae vel eo circiter jacentem et adjungentem viae sive venellae ibidem ex uno latere et abbutantem super peciam terrae vocatam the Parke super boream et super gardinum tunc vel nuper in tenura sive occupacione cuiusdam Johannis Cornishe versus occidentem et super aliud gardinum tunc vel nuper in tenura sive occupacione cuiusdam Johannis Knowles versus orientem cum omnibus domibus aedificiis structuris viis easiamentis commoditatibus et pertinentiis adinde spectantibus vel aliquo modo pertinentibus quae dicta praemissa sunt scituata jacentia et existentia infra parochiam Sancti Salvatoris in Southwarke in comitatu Surriensi aeceiam totam illam parcellam terrae nuper praeantea inclusam et factam in tria separalia gardina unde duo eorundem nuper in tenura sive occupacione cuiusdam Johannis Robertes carpenter ac aliud nuper in occupacione cuiusdam Thomae Ditcher civis et mercatoris scissoris Londoniae scituatam jacentem et existentem in parochia praedicta in praedicto comitatu Surriensi continentem in longitudine ab oriente ad occidentem per estimacionem centum quinquaginta et sex pedes assisae vel eo circiter et in latitudine a borea ad austrum centum pedes assisae per estimacionem vel eo circiter jacentem et adjungentem super alio latere viae sive venellae praedictae et abuttantem super gardinum ibidem tunc vel nuper praeantea in occupacione Willelmi Sellers versus orientem et super unum aliud gardinum ibidem tunc vel nuper praeantea in tenura Johannis Burgram Sadler versus occidentem et super venellam ibidem vocatam Maiden Lane versus austrum cum omnibus domibus aedificiis structuris . . . . De quibus quidem praemissis vel desuper aliqua parcella inde anglice upon somme parte thereof quaedam domus lusoria apta pro ostencione et actione comediarum et tragediarum existebat . . . . ."[1]

It will be noted that the account which thus appears on the Roll is but a conversion, into a Latin form, of wording which was evidently first written in English.

An English version of these excerpts is as follows:—

London. Be it remembered that elsewhere, that is to say, in Michaelmas Term last past, before the lord the king there came, by Thomas Farrer, her attorney, Thomasina Osteler, widow, administratrix of all and singular the goods, chattels, rights and credits which were of William Osteler, late her husband, deceased, who died intestate, as it is said. And brought forward here in the Court of the said lord the king then and there her certain bill against John Hemynges, in the custody of the Marshal, etc., of a plea of trespass upon the case.

* * * * * *

[1] The bounds of the estate set out in this document are recited in "all later leases to shareholders" in The Globe. *The Century Magazine*, Aug. 1910, 505, *per* Dr. Wallace.

That whereas one Nicholas Brend, of West Moulsey, in the county of Surrey, esquire, by his indenture tripartite bearing date the twenty-first day of February, in the year of the reign of the Lady Elizabeth, late Queen of England, the forty-first, for considerations in the same indenture tripartite mentioned and expressed, demised, granted and to farm, let to certain individuals, Cuthbert Burbadge and Richard Burbadge, of London, gentlemen, to the afore-mentioned William Shakespeare and Augustine Phillips and Thomas Pope, of London, gentlemen, deceased, to the aforesaid John Hemynges and William Kempe, formerly of London, gentleman, deceased, all that parcel of land lately heretofore inclosed and made into four several yards lately in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Burt and Isbrand Morris, dyers, and of Lactantius Roper, salter, citizen of London, containing in length from east to west two hundred and twenty feet of assize, or thereabouts, lying and adjoining upon a way or lane there on one side, and abutting upon a piece of land called the Park upon the north, and upon a yard then or late in the tenure or occupation of one John Cornish toward the west, and upon another yard then or late in the tenure or occupation of one John Knowles toward the east, with all the houses, buildings, structures, ways, easements, commodities, and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any way appertaining, which said premises are situate, lying, and being within the parish of St. Saviour in Southwark, in the county of Surrey. And also all that parcel of land just recently enclosed and made into three several yards, whereof two of the same were late in the tenure or occupation of John Roberts, carpenter, and another, late in the occupation of a certain Thomas Ditcher, citizen and merchant tailor, of London, situate, lying, and being in the aforesaid parish in the aforesaid county of Surrey, containing in length from the east to the west by estimation one hundred and fifty and six feet of assize, or thereabouts, lying and adjoining upon the other side of the way or lane aforesaid, and abutting upon a yard there, then or late heretofore in the occupation of William Sellers toward the east, and upon another yard there, then or late heretofore in the tenure of John Burgram, sadler, toward the west, and upon a lane there called Maiden Lane toward the south, with all the houses, &c. Upon which same premises, or upon some part thereof, existed a certain playhouse fit for the showing or acting of comedies and tragedies.

From this case of Osteler *v.* Hemynges, we see that the boundaries of the plots upon which "a certain playhouse," the Globe, was erected, included "all that parcel of ground . . . . lying and adjoining upon a way or lane there on one side and abutting upon a piece of land called the Park upon the north . . . . and also all that parcel of land . . . . abutting . . . . upon a lane there called Maiden Lane towards the south." These statements, as to the boundaries relatively to the Park

and to Maiden Lane, from which the situation of the site should be obtained, require to be interpreted and the result marshalled with evidence obtained from other sources. The more ready interpretation would probably be that which places Maiden Lane to the south and the Park to the north of the site. Since, however, this allocation is in conflict with the general body of extraneous evidence, some means of harmonizing the apparent conflict should be sought for. Want of agreement between the testimony of the Osteler document and the other evidence may be explained by observing, in the first place, that the document in question is susceptible of two interpretations, one of which is as alluded to, and the other which would place Maiden Lane to the north and the Park to the south of the site, both interpretations being covered by the wording under discussion. Alternatively, the explanation might be that the individual who drafted the document erred in his orientation. Each of these possibilities may be further considered. As regards allocating the site of the playhouse to a position to the north of Maid Lane, the Park, or possibly a portion thereof, must then be found between the Lane and the River Thames. But concerning the situation of the Park, presumably the park of the Bishop of Winchester, no evidence is yet forthcoming that the park ever lay to the north of Maid Lane, while there is ample evidence that it lay to the south and south-east of that thoroughfare.[1] Further, we may see from the details given in the extracts, that if the parcel of land lay to the north of Maid Lane, the space for the park from north to south would have been extraordinarily limited. Thus from Maiden Lane northwards, on such hypothesis, there would be firstly the parcel of land 100 feet long, then a "way or lane," another parcel the length of which is not defined, the "Park," and finally, a causeway or highway on the bank of the River Thames, the whole of which, judging from present day measurement and

[1] *E. g.*, Dugdale's *Hist. of Imbanking, etc.*, 2nd Ed., 1772, 65; Map in *Strype*, 1720, II, 26-7; Tiler's *Hist. and Antiq. of St. Saviour's, Southwark*, 1765, 50.

assuming no reclamation of the foreshore to have taken place, was contained within a length from something less than 200 feet—to say less than 350 feet. As regards the "way or lane" relatively to the "Park," Globe Alley, which, before 1616 the date of the document, appears under that name (*cf.* Sacrament Token Books), satisfies the condition as lying between the Park and Maid Lane. It was also of such a length as would naturally have been referred to as a boundary, whereas there does not appear to have been a way or alley north of Maid Lane of a length and importance likely to have been similarly employed; nor indeed, as judging from maps, of any way or lane, as opposed to what may be termed mere "occupation" passages of which they are signs. Moreover 100 feet, the depth of the plot of Thomas Ditcher, a plot which was part of the estate (*see* diagram, p. 168), approximates closely with the distance of Maid Lane, now (east-and-west) Park Street from the western end of Globe Alley, where it passed northward into Maid Lane.

From the excerpts we also see that the site of the playhouse abutted "upon another garden plot then or late (*tunc vel nuper*) in the tenure or occupation of one John Knowles towards the east." In the conveyance of Thrale's Brewery to Barclay and Perkins in 1787, certain properties are referred to in Globe Alley containing in length, from the said alley there called Globe Alley on the north to the common sewer which lay to the south, 100 feet of assize or thereabouts, "which in or about the year 1715 were or then late were in the several tenures or occupations of William Forrester the Widow Bayford and John Knowles." If this John Knowles of 1715 could be identified with the John Knowles of the Osteler document, the position of the site relatively to Maid Lane and the plots to one another would be accurately determined. Assuming this identification, the result accords largely with external evidence; but the possibility of doubt is present as to the accuracy of this identification for the following reasons:—

The name John Knowles occurs in the proceedings of

the manor of Southwark at a much later date than 1598, the date of affairs recited in the Osteler document, for a certain John Knowles is recorded as having been presented and amerced in the Court of the Manor in 1712.[1]

Again, there were executed in Michaelmas Term, 1715, certain "Indentures of fine between John Knowles, Plaintiff, and Thomas Wadsworth, Doctor in Physic, Jonathan Reeve, and Mary his wife, Deforciants"—which serve to show that in 1715 a John Knowles was still living in the neighbourhood. It is obvious that this John Knowles of 1715 could not be the John Knowles of 1598, and in connexions other than the tenure or occupation of land the bond between the two individuals would be slight. Here, however, there is probability that the two lives or so which must have intervened, represented a devolution from father to son or grandson by inheritance or otherwise.

Even though what is perhaps the more ready way of reading the extracts is that which ought to be adopted, there is the possibility—one might almost say the probability—to be kept in mind of the draftsman of the document having been careless as regards the bearings of the area which he was describing. He may have been strictly accurate in the names of the holders of the plots and parcels of ground, and yet inaccurate as regards their directions and the directions of adjacent boundaries. This inaccuracy might well have arisen through the draftsman having before him a rough plan in which the top edge of the plan lay toward the south, no indication by wording or otherwise being given as to the true bearings. Although it is more usual for the north of a map to be uppermost, yet this is by no means a universal convention. Even at the present day surveyors' plans frequently appear without regard to this convention. An example of an early plan where the south lay to the top edge of the plan, but where care had been taken

[1] Guildhall Library MS. 1513, Jury Presentments, 1707–41.

to minimise the possibility of a mistake by the insertion of suitable wording, occurs in a plan of the manor of Idle, near Bradford, dated 1584.[1]

Another example where the top of the plan is toward the south may be seen in the "Mapp of the Mannor or Lordship of Old Paris Garden Surveyed 1627," Paris Garden lying to the west of and being contiguous to Bankside. In this plan the Thames is at the bottom of the plan and Winchester Park at the upper left-hand corner, while no indication is given as to the points of the compass.[2]

If the bearings in the Osteler document had been inverted by the draftsman, the result obtained, on reversal of all the bearings, would accord with and be consistent with the general body of evidence.

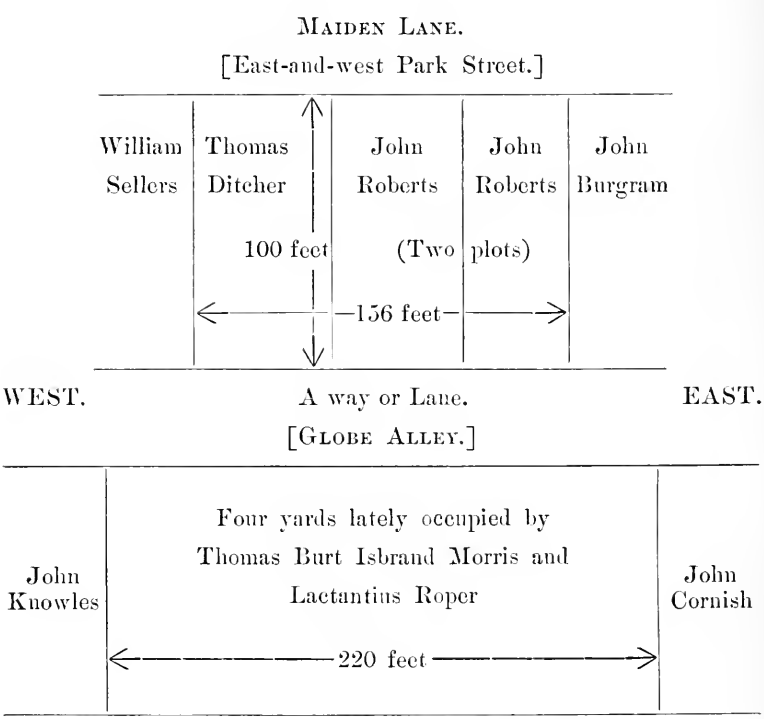
Assuming this inversion of the plan by the draftsman, or, alternatively, interpreting the document according to the second method of which it is susceptible, for the result is the same, and also assuming, although not necessarily, the identity of the John Knowles of the document with that John Knowles who in or about the year 1715 was, or late was, an occupier of certain property in the vicinity, we approach coincidence in the site as derived from the Osteler document and from the early Brewery deeds.

The following diagram represents the state of affairs as thus derived, in the corrected manner set out, from the Osteler document, "upon which same premises or upon some part thereof existed a certain playhouse fit for the showing forth and acting of comedies and tragedies."

[1] *Bradford Antiquary*, 1888, I, 192.

[2] "From an old parchment . . . at present at the Guildhall Library," Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, ii.

NORTH.



The Park [of the Bishop of Winchester].

SOUTH.

Passing onwards, Rendle's conclusions, as the result of his examination of the Sacrament Token Book of 1621 (*supra*), were as follows:—

"These entries in the token-book, I take it, point out the spot of the Globe Play-house. In all the token-books, I think without exception, the name of any court or alley is placed on the left, and the word alley or court with it, except when placed in the body of the writing, followed by the names of the token-holders in column. The word 'Gloabe,' and not Globe Theatre, or Play-house, standing alone, is, as Malone says, 'the universal language of the time.' Estimating the site as closely as I may, and noting first that the play-house is to be got at by going west from Deadman's Place along the alley or way called Globe Alley;

and next that the name 'Gloabe' in the margin comes after some twelve residents, I should fix the site of Shakespere's theatre at or close to the open space shewn in Rocque's map, south of the meeting-house, about eighty or one hundred feet along the alley on the right-hand side." [1]

On referring to the photographs of the pages of the Token Book of 1621, in which the word "Gloabe" appears, it would seem that, if those names which preceded the word were the names of those who occupied the north-and-south arm of Globe Alley, the site would work out close to the right angle of the alley, and thereby accord more exactly with the evidence which assigns the site to that position.

There is, of course, the possibility that the "Gloabe," which is mentioned in the margin of the Token Book, was an inn or public-house, in which case it might have been that alluded to in Concanen's *History of Southwark* (*infra*, p. 178).

It may also be remembered that "Tap-houses, and a tenement, and a garden belonging to the [Globe] premises" are alluded to in a petition, in 1635, to the Lord Chamberlain concerning the allocation of proceeds in the Globe.[2]

The next document which may be considered is that enrolled in Chancery.[3] It was executed by Sir Mathew Brend of West Moulsey and Hillarie Memprise, Citizen and haberdasher of London. Some of the property which was transferred by Sir Mathew Brend is identified as—

"bounded with the king's highway called Deadman's Place on the east and upon the brook or common sewer dividing them from the Park of the Lord Bishop of Winchester on the south and the garden commonly called the Lumbarde Garden on the west *and the alley or way leading to the Gloabe Playhouse commonly called Gloabe Alley* on the north and contained in length from the king's highway called Deadman's Place on the east to the aforesaid garden called the Lumber or Lumberde Garden on the west three hundred and seventeen feet or thereabouts and in breadth from the path called Gloabe Alley on the

[1] Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xix. For Rocque's map, *v.* Plate XI.
[2] Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1889, I, 313.
[3] P. R. O., Close Rolls, 3 Chas. I., Part 23, 22.

north to the common sewer on the south one hundred and twenty-four feet or thereabouts."

The wording relating to the Gloabe is here printed in italics.

From this enrolment, it is certain that there was some intimate connexion between Globe Alley and the Playhouse, for otherwise it would be difficult to understand the allusion to "the alley or way leading to the Gloabe Playhouse commonly called Gloabe Alley." Although Globe Alley had a short branch northerly into Maid Lane, it is hardly probable, from the language employed, for Maid Lane to have been nearer the playhouse than was the alley, or Maid Lane to have led to it without entering the alley. The fair conclusion to be drawn is that the playhouse was adjacent to, or, as we might say, in Globe Alley. Further, from this document, as we have seen, the depth from Globe Alley to the Winchester sewer was 124 feet or thereabouts, and if there is added the depth of 100 feet which, according to the document of 1616, lay between Maiden Lane and the way or lane there alluded to, a total of not less than 224 feet is obtained. This depth, according to the Ordnance map, approximates to the measurement adjacent to Fountain Alley from Maid Lane to the sewer which here formed the northern boundary of Winchester Park. It may be mentioned that the common sewer which is alluded to runs at the present day west from the main entrance of the Brewery in north-and-south Park Street (*v.* Brewery plan, Plate XII).

Among contemporary evidence concerning the site, one must notice the entry in the "Calendar of Shakespearean Rarities" of the late Halliwell-Phillipps, if only to express the hope that the contents of the complete document may some day be available.

The entry is as follows:—

245. Proceedings "att a Session of the Sewers holden in Southwark," July and October, 1653, respecting the one "in Maide Lane nere the place where the Globe Playhouse lately stood." This interesting document establishes the exact locality of the theatre. (2nd ed., 1891, 81.)

If one may hazard a guess, it would be that these Proceedings were bought at the time when the original manuscript of the Southwark Sewers Presentments of 1640, was recommended for purchase to the Librarian of the Guildhall in 1868 for 35*s*. The letter of Halliwell-Phillipps, and the cutting from a bookseller's catalogue, in which the Proceedings of 1640 were advertised, are attached to the document in the Guildhall Library.[1] The collection of Halliwell-Phillipps went to America in January, 1897, and was thus lost to the English public.[2]

Proceeding with the documentary evidence, there is in existence a certified copy of a deed, of December 21st, 1706, to declare the uses of certain fines, and acknowledgment—in effect a mortgage—between Timothy Cason and "Elizabeth his wife, surviving daughter and heir of Thomas Brend, late of West Moulsey," of the one part, and William James, citizen and merchant taylor of the other part. Of the property alluded to there occurs:—

"All those messuages or tenements with their and every of their appurtenances situate and lying and being in or near Maiden Lane . . . . most of which last before-mentioned messuages or tenements were erected and built *where the late playhouse called the Globe stood* and upon the ground thereunto belonging."

If the site of these messuages or tenements could be traced through succeeding documents of title, it would, of course, follow that the site of the Globe had been determined. Unfortunately, however, the next document to be mentioned falls short of complete identification of these messuages "in or near Maiden Lane." As regards these words "in or near Maiden Lane," the Brewery title deeds allude in several instances to Globe Alley as "near Maid Lane." Also at the head of a list of Brewery deeds compiled in 1787 there occurs the note, "Title to premises in and near Maiden Lane, lately used as St. Saviour's Workhouse."

The next document to be mentioned is that of February 9th, 1726/7. It is an original lease and release

[1] *Southwark; Proceedings at a Court of Sessions, &c.*, MS. 170.
[2] Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*, 4th ed., 1899, 267*n*.

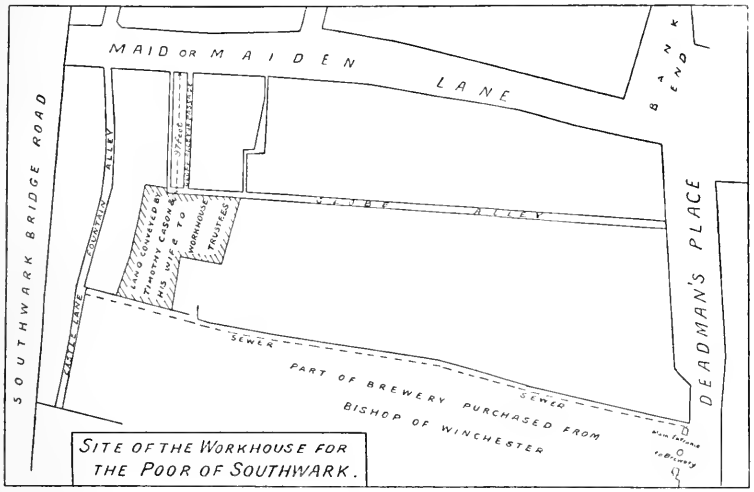
between Timothy Cason and Elizabeth his wife of the first part, Hannah Silvester, the then mortgagee, of the second part, and John Lade, James Kinder and other parishioners of the third part. Upon the plot, the subject of this document, a workhouse for the poor of Southwark was erected. Although the property which is here in question cannot by the express wording of the deed be identified with the messuages or tenements of the deed of 1706, yet there is a strong presumption that the identity is present. Indeed, Mr. Marson, whose family has acted as solicitors for Messrs. Barclay, Perkins and Co. Limited for upwards of a century, informed the writer that he was quite satisfied of the two properties, mentioned respectively in the document of 1706 and in the document of 1726, being identical, the document of 1706 being, as mentioned above, that in which the Globe is referred to by name. The two documents have always been kept in the same bundle and treated as part of the title to the particular piece of land. Further, since the Brewery does not, and never has owned, in fee simple, land to the north of and abutting on Maid Lane, it is practically impossible for either of the deeds to refer to land on the north side of the lane.

The only possible conclusion, therefore, seems to be that the workhouse plot and the plot upon which, according to the deed of 1706, the Globe stood were the same. The position of the workhouse estate has been identified, and is shown on plans which accompany this Paper, viz., at the west end of Globe Alley and to the south of Maid Lane.

The position of the Globe estate and the workhouse plot at the right-angle of Globe Alley is sufficient to account for both arms of that L-shaped alley being sometimes called, as it would seem, by the same name, a fact otherwise difficult to account for. Both arms, doubtless, afforded the most direct way of approach from the adjacent and important thoroughfares, Deadman's Place and Maid Lane, and the most ready access to the Globe premises situate at the junction of the two arms.

Around the open space—a part of the workhouse plot—which appears on the Ordnance Map of 1896, and

NORTH.



SOUTH.

which still remains as an open space, stood stables from the latter portion of the 18th century. It is likely that this open space is the only part of the workhouse plot that has not been upturned for building purposes.

As regards the position of the Workhouse, Tiler says, "Work-House. In the back Part of Maid lane, by Globe Alley. Here is a Master and other inferior servants,[1] 1723."

In the indenture made upon the 7th June, 1787, by which in effect Barclay and Perkins took over Thrale's Brewery, the following appears, the reference to the Globe being put, as before, in italics:—

"And this Indenture further witnesseth that . . . . they the said Gabrielle Piozzi . . . . doth release ratify and confirm unto the said Nathaniel Springall . . . . All that ground . . . . on which lately stood two small messuages or tenements with their appurtenances situate and being in Globe Alley near Maid Lane, ... and also all that ground and all the buildings thereon on which lately stood

[1] Tiler's *Hist. and Antiq. of St. Saviour's, Southwark*, 1765, 48.

two several messuages or tenements up the steps in the said [Sun] Court at the further end thereof next adjoining to eaeh other built over a cellar hereinafter mentioned fronting the said Court towards the south . . . . together also with the said Court called Sun Court And on which also lately stood the before mentioned cellar fronting *a certain Alley or passage called Globe Alley in antient times leading from Deadmans Place aforesaid to the then Globe playhouse* . . . . which said cellar . . . . were purchased by Thomas Wadsworth of Joseph Huddlestone by Indentures of Lease and release bearing date respectively the eleventh and twelfth days of November one thousand seven hundred and twenty three . . . ."

"Again, Wadsworth to Ralph Thrale, 1732, messuages are conveyed 'fronting a certain alley or passage *called Globe Alley, in antient times leading from Deadman's Place to the Globe Playhouse.*'"[1] Presumably the document which Rendle has thus referred to is one of the two following:—

"29 and 30 September, 1732. Indentures of lease and release between Thomas Wadsworth Doctor in Physic eldest son and heir of Thomas Wadsworth Clerk and Anna his wife both deceased and likewise devisee of his said father which said Anna was residuary devisee of her said husband which said Thomas Wadsworth Clerk was eldest son and heir of Thomas Wadsworth Citizen and Currier of London and Ann his wife (both deceased) and likewise devisee of his said father and which said Ann was residuary devisee of her said husband and the said Thomas Wadsworth Clerk was likewise eldest brother and heir of John Wadsworth Ann Wadsworth afterwards the wife of Robert Hale and Elizabeth Wadsworth afterwards the wife of William Maltby long since deceased devisees also of the said Thomas Wadsworth their father Currier of the one part and Ralph Thrale Brewer of the other part."

"30th September, 1732. Indenture of a Feoffment with livery of seisin indorsed between said Thomas Wadsworth of the 1st part Wm Adams Gent. of the 2nd part and Ralph Thrale of the 3rd part."

In 1777, May 28th and 29th, a lease and re-lease were executed between Josiah Boyfield, son and heir to Josiah Boyfield and Ann his wife, only daughter of James Kinder, the survivor of the grantees in the Deed of 1726/7 of the first part, and the trustees who had been appointed by an Act of Parliament of 1774 (14 Geo. III, c. 75), for providing a new workhouse for the use of the parishioners of St. Saviour's of the second part, and Henry Thrale of the third part. This deed

[1] Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xviii.

was the result of a sale by auction at which Thrale purchased the property, defined by plan, for £460.

On June 6th and 7th, 1787, the brewery held by Thrale was conveyed by Thrale's executors to Barclay and Perkins. In the lengthy document by which this was effected and to which references have already been made and an excerpt given, the various plots on which the brewery stood were identified by the recital of previous deeds, including those in which Globe Alley was mentioned as leading to the Globe Playhouse, and those in which the workhouse plot was dealt with. The sites of the plots in the Deed of 1787 are, it is thought, all capable of identification. Since the date of the assignment of the brewery by Thrale's executors, the land under consideration has remained undivided.

From a consideration of the afore-mentioned documents, it would appear that to visit the playhouse or its site, whether passing from Maid Lane or Deadman's Place, Globe Alley would have had to be threaded. Moreover, with possibly the exception of the document in the case of Osteler *v.* Hemynges, which, however, as has been shown, admits of being brought into line, the documents are in favour of a site to the south of Maid Lane. Further, the ground on which the playhouse stood has been shown all but conclusively to have formed at one time the site of the workhouse for the poor, a site which is identified in the accompanying plans.

(B) Printed and Oral Accounts which, purporting to describe the position of the Globe Playhouse were not, in general, of a Legal, Semi-Legal, or Business Character.

The evidence which is brought together under this heading—evidence dating from the 18th century—is in favour of the site being to the south of east-and-west Park Street and within the brewery premises.

Proceeding chronologically, the following reference to the Globe occurs in Aubrey in 1719 :—

"Next this [Bear] Garden was a *Theatre*, known by the Name of the Globe Play-House, to which *Beaumont*, *Fletcher*, and *Philip*

Massinger belonged, and wrote for; and though the most eminent Place for Tragedies, Comedies, and Interludes, was, because of its Situation, only used in the hot Summer Months."[1]

The Bear Garden or Gardens were upon the north side of Maid Lane, unless there was truth in the representation of some 18th-century map views which mark a Bear Garden as within the quadrangle of Winchester House against the Church of St. Saviour's.

Mrs. Piozzi, the widow of Henry Thrale, the Brewer who died in 1781, in her customary airy manner, made allusion to the Globe and Globe Alley thus:—

"For a long time, then—or I thought it such—my fate was bound up with the old Globe Theatre, upon the Bankside, Southwark; the alley it had occupied having been purchased and thrown down by Mr. Thrale to make an opening before the windows of our dwelling-house. When it lay desolate in a black heap of rubbish, my Mother, one day, in a joke, called it the Ruins of Palmyra; and after that they laid it down in a grass-plot. Palmyra was the name it went by, I suppose, among the clerks and servants of the brewhouse; . . . . . But there were really curious remains of the old Globe Playhouse, which though hexagonal in form without, was round within, as circles contain more space than other shapes, and Bees make their cells in hexagons only because that figure best admits of junction."[2]

If this testimony could be relied on, it would be conclusive as to the playhouse being situated in Globe Alley. It is difficult, however, to suppose the remains of the old playhouse were to be seen in Mrs. Piozzi's days, who married her first husband Thrale in 1763, in view of the assertion that the playhouse was pulled down in 1644 (*supra*, p. 154). Moreover, the garden called "Palmyra" was on the east side of Deadman's Place, opposite to Globe Alley. It is strange, however, that a statement of fact such as this could have been made if it were not true, unless, indeed, Mrs. Piozzi's memory was playing her false or, unless she had mistaken some other ruin for that of the playhouse, a matter scarcely probable.

[1] Aubrey's *Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Surrey*, 1719, V, 221.

[2] *Autobiography, etc. of Mrs. Piozzi*, ed. 1861, by A. Hayward, II, 33; *The Builder*, March 26th, 1910, citing the *Conway MS.*

An assertion of late date concerning the Globe is that of Pennant who, in his *London*, wrote:—

"A little west of St. Mary Overie's (in a place still called Globe Alley) stood the Globe . . . . . I have been told that the door was very lately standing."[1]

In the following narrative[2] we have the position of the site again expressed with precision. Moreover, from the style in which the narrative is written, the author, whoever he may have been, seems to have no doubt concerning its accuracy. Possibly it was contributed by the author of the account of *Thrale's Brewhouse* which appears later in the history (*v. infra*):—

"With respect to the exact spot on which this theatre stood, we have this account:

"It was situated in what is now called Maid lane; the north side and building adjoining, extending from the west side of Counter-alley [page 225] to the north side of the passage leading to Mr. Brook's cooperage; on the east side beyond the end of Globe-alley, including the ground on which stood the late parish workhouse, and from thence continuing to the south end of Mr. Brook's passage. Under this building was Fountain-alley, leading from Horseshoe-alley into Castle-lane. Several of the neighboring inhabitants remember these premises being wholly taken down about fifty years ago, having remained for many years in a very ruinous state: avoided by the young and the superstitious as a place haunted by those imaginary beings called evil spirits."

The ruinous condition of the premises here alluded to also receives notice in the Brewery deed of 1787 in connection with a parcel of ground on which—

> "some time since stood three messuages or tenements and the yards and backsides to the same belonging which in or about the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen were or then late were in the several tenures or occupations of William Forrester the Widow Bayford and John Knowles their undertenants or assigns and the same were in or about the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven in the tenure or occupation of Robert Sayers Carpenter his undertenants or assigns since which the said messuages or tenements and buildings being ruinous and decayed have been pulled down and the said ground whereon the same stood together with the leather

[1] *London*, 2nd ed., 1791, 60.

[2] Concanen and Morgan's *Hist. of Southwark, &c.*, 1795, 224–5.

dressers yard adjoining thereto hath been and is now used for a drayyard and part of the running storehouse belonging to the Brewhouse yard."

Thus, then, we obtain a reference in a publication of 1795 to buildings on, or adjacent to, the site not only of the Globe but also of the workhouse, being in a ruinous state and having been pulled down about fifty years previously; also a recital in 1787 to the pulling down of decayed buildings, some of which, in the year 1715, "were or late then were" in the tenure or occupation among others of John Knowles; and, on the Coram Rege Roll of 1616, the statement that a yard "then or late in the tenure or occupation of one John Knowles towards the east," or in its corrected form "towards the west," was a boundary of the Playhouse site.

The position of the ground upon which the workhouse stood has already been set out. Fountain Alley has also been demarcated, as well as Globe Alley.

This further statement also appears:—[1]

"An intelligent correspondent having favoured us with the following particulars, we have preferred his account:—

"Thrale's Brewhouse.

". . . . Upon a part of the premises formerly stood the *Globe Playhouse*, so well known for having been one of the most frequented theatres of the metropolis in the reign of Elizabeth and James the First. . . . . The passage which led to the Globe Tavern, of which the playhouse formed a part, was, till within these few years, known by the name of Globe-alley, and upon its site now stands a large storehouse for porter."

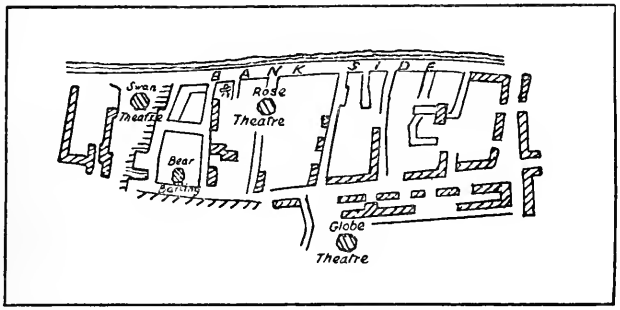
Doubtless Chalmers, in his *Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers, &c.*, also reflected current opinion:—

". . . . I maintain, that the Globe was situated on the Bank, within eighty paces of the river, which has since receded from its former limits; that the Globe stood on the site of John Whatley's windmill, which is at present used for grinding colours; as I was assured by an intelligent manager of Barclay's brewhouse, which covers, in its ample range, part of Globe Alley; and that Whatley's windmill stands due south from the western side of Queenhythe by

[1] Concanen and Morgan's *Hist. of Southwark, &c.*, 1795, 226–7.

the compass, which I set for the express purpose of ascertaining the relative bearings of the windmill to the opposite objects on the Thames." [1]

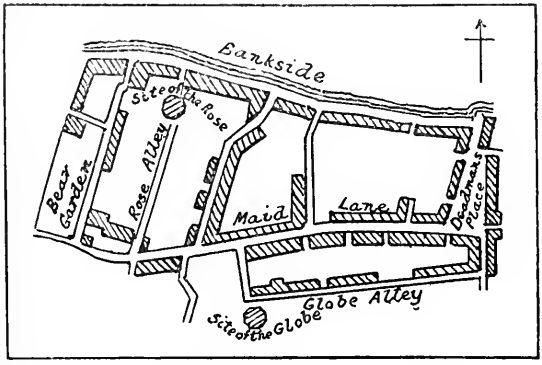
In a plan, published in 1818 by Boydell and Co., and evidently taken from, or based upon, some older view,



Boydell's plan, 1818.

the Globe is shown to the south of Maid Lane, and in the position which was occupied subsequently by the workhouse.[2]

At the base of a view of the Theatre, as depicted by Wilkinson in his *Theatrum Illustrata*, 1825 (pp. 136–7), the view being taken from the Merian map-view of 1638,

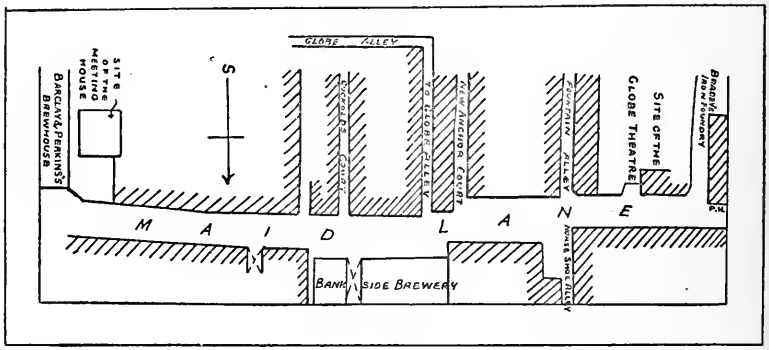


From Wilkinson's Theatrum Illustrata, the plate being dated 1810.

[1] Chalmers' *Apology*, 1797, 114*n*.

[2] Taylor's *Annals of St. Mary Overy*, &c., 1833, 140–1.

there is shown a plan where the site of the Globe is indicated as adjacent to the south side of Globe Alley, and at the western extremity this position coincides with the eastern portion of the L-shaped plot upon which the workhouse stood. Since this attribution appears to be approximately correct, it would have been interesting to learn the origin of this plan. No clue, however, to it is given. The plate, which includes the view and the plan, was published in 1810. Boydell's plan, *supra*, is evidently based on the same original as this. In Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, 1819 (p. 135), a plate, published 1813, assigns the site to



From Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata, the plate being dated 1813.

a position west of Fountain Alley, and between that alley and "Bradey's Iron Foundry." For this there appears to be no warrant. The accompanying letter-press is headed—"The late Mr. Skelton's Meeting house, erected near the site of the Globe Theatre, Maid Lane, Southwark," while the letter-press itself says the meeting-house occupied the site:—

"Upon the disuse of the Theatre for dramatic purposes, its site again reverted to the service of religion and was formed into a Meeting-house for Protestant Dissenters . . . . Its construction as a place of worship probably took place about the year 1672, when Charles II. granted indulgence in favour of religious profession . . . . afterwards a mill was erected here to grind bones; and it is at present appropriated for the purpose of grinding stones and similar materials."

Thus, then, Wilkinson places the site in three different positions, of which that indicated on the plate of 1810 is probably the most correct.

The reference to the Globe which occurs in Wilson's *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches*, &c., is as follows:—

"The meeting house that now claims our attention, was situated properly in Globe Alley, a passage leading into Maid-lane. In former days there stood here a theatre called the 'Globe' . . . . Near to this place stood the meeting-house . . . . Its dissolution become easy and natural, and took place about the year 1752. (1814, IV, 148.) . . . . the meeting-house was taken for secular purposes, and it is at present used for warehousing goods. A mill was also erected over it for the purpose of grinding bones." (*Ibid.*, 175.)

In these extracts there is perhaps some confusion between the meeting house shown in Rocque's map of 1746 to be near Maid Lane, and possibly another meeting house which may have stood to the south of the workhouse plot. Thus as recently as twenty years or so ago, the locality in Cock Alley to the south-west of the plane tree (*see* the Brewery plan of 1909), was known as the "Meeting House, Stoney Lane."

As regards a meeting house, its boundaries are set out in the Brewery Deed of 1787 in this manner:—

"All that piece or parcel of ground and the erections and buildings thereon on which lately stood all that great shop or workhouse formerly used for a Meeting house situate and being in the parish of Saint Saviour's Southwark aforesaid adjoining northwards to a way or passage leading from Maiden Lane to other Ground and Buildings formerly of Timothy Cason and then let to John Eldridge Leather Dresser and adjoining towards the east and south to other ground of the said Timothy Cason and let to the said John Eldridge and on which also stood all that little shop or workhouse adjoining the west side of the said Great Shop or workhouse."

In 1823, *The Nic-Nac*, page 198, stated that "Its site is now occupied by Barclay and Perkins' brewery"; while on page 222 of the same periodical, "Truth," in a letter to the editor, writes: "You are correct in stating that the site of Shakespeare's Theatre, the Globe, is now partly occupied by the brewhouse of Barclay and Perkins." And, in alluding to the meeting-house, continues, "It was shortly afterwards converted into a

warehouse; and subsequently into a mill to grind bones, which, for some time, formed a conspicuous object in this neighbourhood, but was pulled down in the month of February, 1820."

"The exact site of the Globe Theatre is presumed to have been at the north-west angle of Globe Alley, Maid lane."[1] "Near the banks of the Thames, and not far from St. Saviour's Church, is the extensive brewery of Messrs. Perkins and Co. The building and offices occupy a space of nearly six acres, on part of which stood the Globe theatre."[2]

According to Taylor, "The Globe stood on the site of the present brewery of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins."[3]

In 1858, the *Art Journal* (IV, 280), the site of the Globe is described by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall as "near that part of Southwark crossed by the road from the iron bridge"; and more nearly, it "is believed to have stood where the iron-works of Messrs. Sheeres are now located, close beside the bridge."[4]

According to Halliwell-Phillipps:—

"The exact position of the Globe Theatre will be gathered from the annexed view of London, which was published a few years after its erection, and contains by far the most interesting representation we have of the building. A person entering Southwark from London Bridge, after passing the last gateway, its poles and its traitors' heads, would proceed a short distance along the High Street. Turning then to the right, threading the streets and alleys that lay on the south of the Church and Winchester House, he would arrive at the Globe, the circular building which is seen amidst the trees in the open space below the thickly-populated fringe of houses known as the Bank-side, the theatre itself being only about two hundred yards from the margin of the river."[5]

This "annexed view of London" was the inset to Hondius' map of Great Britain, 1610, which is discussed below (p. 186). Here it is sufficient to remark that the "circular building" may or may not have been a view of the Globe. It may have been the Rose Playhouse,

[1] Allen's *Hist. of Surrey*, 1827, p. 100–1.
[2] *Ibid.*, 108.
[3] Taylor's *Annals of St. Mary Overy, &c.*, 1833, 141.
[4] Quoted by Ordish in *The Antiquary*, August 1885, 42.
[5] Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, 1889, i, 181.

or possibly a representation evolved by the engraver of two pictures in little of the Globe and the Rose respectively, which appeared on the draft forming his instructions in the preparation of the map.

The opinion of Mr. T. F. Ordish, F.S.A., is in substantial agreement with that of Halliwell-Phillipps.[1]

The plan in Ordish's *Shakespeare's London*, and the accompanying text, follow the Ordnance map in placing the site at the west-end of the Brewery.[2]

From a comparison of early London maps, Mr. George Hubbard, F.S.A., in a well-illustrated paper,[3] thinks the site was adjacent to the present causeway by the river side, the modern Bankside. Neither the interpretation of the maps in this paper, however, nor the conclusions drawn from them, are in accord with the present writer's views. Mr. Hubbard's conclusions, moreover, are alone among those which are set out under the present heading.

As regards local opinion in modern times:—

"Mr. Howe, late a surveyor, of St. Saviour's of antiquarian repute, believed the site to be close at hand [viz., to the Meeting-house, Maid Lane], and he had thought the matter well out. An old friend of mine, Mr. Rider, an inhabitant of the locality from a boy, holds to the same: 'The site marked Meeting-house,' he says, 'is the site, or very nearly so, of the Globe Theatre.' This, only to show the local belief and tradition."[4]

In 1905, Mr. Muggeridge, now retired, who was for many years at the Brewery, informed the present writer that the site was understood to be near to, or be covered by, the dwelling-house formerly known as 15, Anchor Terrace, Southwark Bridge Road.

In October of 1909, Mr. James Alexander Lumsden, who for forty years has held a responsible position in the Brewery, narrates how he, Mr. Lumsden, was told by his father, who received it from his father, that the

[1] *London Topographical Record*, 1903, II, 112; *Shakespeare's London*, 1904, 222–5.

[2] 298–9; *The Academy*, April 23, 1904, 462.

[3] *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Nov. 6th, 1909, 26.

[4] Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, xix.

Globe stood on or about the position where a plane tree now grows. This plane tree is situated a short distance in a south-easterly direction from what was formerly the right-angle of Globe Alley. Mr. Lumsden's grandfather was with Thrale the Brewer from the year 1769, while his father was at the Brewery from 1831 to 1852.

What seems to have been a remarkable relic of one of the playhouses came to light in 1884. In that year, a beam engine, which was erected in 1784 a few feet south of Globe Alley for raising water from the brewery well, was replaced by a horizontal engine. While preparing the foundation for this second engine, the workmen unearthed a stone slab on which were inscribed what were thought to be Roman numerals, probably a date, and the word "theayter," the letter "t" of which, however, was missing. After inspection by the workmen, from whom the information was subsequently obtained, the slab was thoughtlessly broken up for concrete and placed in the foundation of the engine.[1] In the Ordnance map, published 1896, 60 inches to the mile (*ante*, p. 155), the site of the Globe is marked in substantially the position to which the accumulated evidence would assign it.

From the non-official writings and the traditions under review in this section of the paper, it appears that when the situation of the theatre is particularised, testimony is almost wholly in favour of a site in the brewery, but as to what part of the brewery, varying opinion obtains.

(c) Evidence concerning the Site derived from 16th- and 17th-Century Map-Views and Plans of London and Southwark.

In the first place, it is to be remarked that the views of the Globe Playhouse and the situation of that structure as set out in the map-views of London of the 16th and 17th centuries, cannot be accepted without reservation or without a certain amount of qualification. To begin with, they are not in agreement among them-

[1] Communicated by Mr. C. Carlos Perkins, who received the information from an employee who saw the stone. (*The Times*, October 8th, 1909.)

selves. Indeed, these map- or bird's-eye views are occasionally as far removed from an accurately-plotted survey or a photographic representation as are some of the modern advertisements concerning rural districts served by railway systems.

In the compilation of the old map-views, prominent buildings have evidently been selected and then arranged in their relation to one another and to main roads, in so far as the main roads do not interfere too much with the general effect which is among the aims of the picture. The direction of the roads, therefore, is often found to accord rather with picturesque plotting than with fact. The circumstances of engraving and of publication also have their effect upon the accuracy of the views. In short, to interpret map-views correctly, many considerations must be taken into account.[1]

With these prefatory remarks, the information which the maps afford concerning the site of the Globe, and incidentally of the shapes of the old and the later playhouse, may now be discussed. Accordingly, there will be brought under review the Norden map of 1593; the inset to the Speed-Hondius map of 1610; the Visscher panorama of 1616, particularly in its relation to the earlier map in the atlas of Braun and Hogenberg of 1572; the important bird's-eye view by Merian issued in 1638 in the *Archontologia* of Gottfried; the "Porter" map (*c.* 1660), which is probably based on an early view of date about 1640; the Hollar panorama of 1647; the Faithorne and Newcourt map of 1658; and a map which included both the Leeke survey (1666) of the burnt portions of the City of London, and an extensive fringe borrowed from another source, the compilation bearing the name of Hollar. References to later plan-maps will also be made in connection with the history of Globe Alley. Sections from the maps and views mentioned accompany this Paper.

As a result of the collation, it will be found that, with one notable exception, a playhouse either is shown to the south of Maid Lane, or otherwise no positive in-

[1] *The Antiquary*, Sept. and Nov., 1909, *per* Dr. Martin.

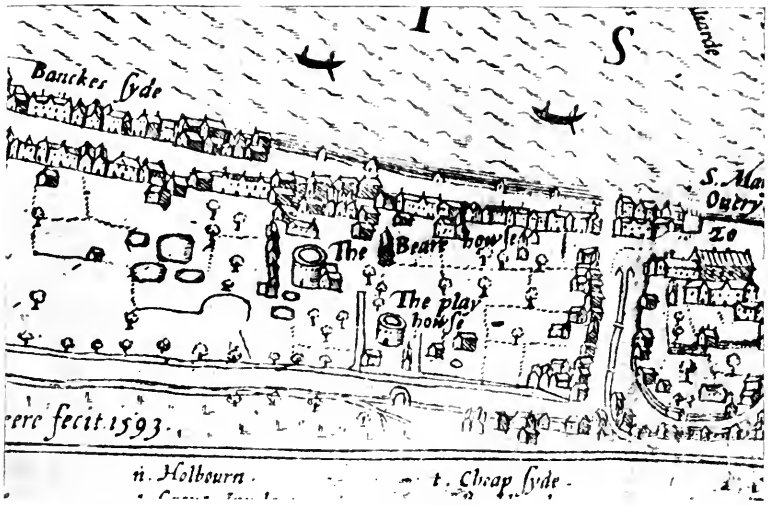
formation as to the playhouse relatively to Maid Lane is obtainable.

In 1593, Norden published in his *Speculum Britanniæ*, a bird's-eye view of London and Southwark. On the Bankside area there appeared two cylindrical buildings, —not unlike the later Martello Towers—one of which was styled "The playhouse." It is alluded to here since this representation may have had an influence in the formation of certain later views which, seemingly published after the building of the Globe, 1598–9, showed a cylindrical structure on Bankside.

Concerning the inset to the Hondius' map of *The Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland* of 1610 in Speed's Atlas, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, 1611, it is evident from its trimmed edges, from its similarity to the view on the title page of *Heroologia Anglica*, 1620, where the bend of the river on its way to Westminster is shown, and from other considerations, that it originally formed a portion of a larger view which remains to be identified. On the inset there is shown a cylindrical erection in the foreground, and immediately to the north some indication of a roadway leading west from a north-and-south thoroughfare which separates the Church of St. Saviour from the Bishop of Winchester's Palace. The cylindrical erection may be the Globe. It is placed on the south side of the thoroughfare alluded to. Further, the rising ground on the left of the Globe is perhaps a portion of the mound which may have been inserted on a view of London and Southwark, a view which has served as a background for many equestrian portraits, that after Delaram being an example.

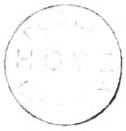
As regards this background in the engraving after Delaram of an equestrian figure of James I, the round structure which we may tentatively style the Globe, is shown upon the south side of a road which runs in a north-easterly direction. But the evidence afforded by this engraving as to the site of the Globe is slight.

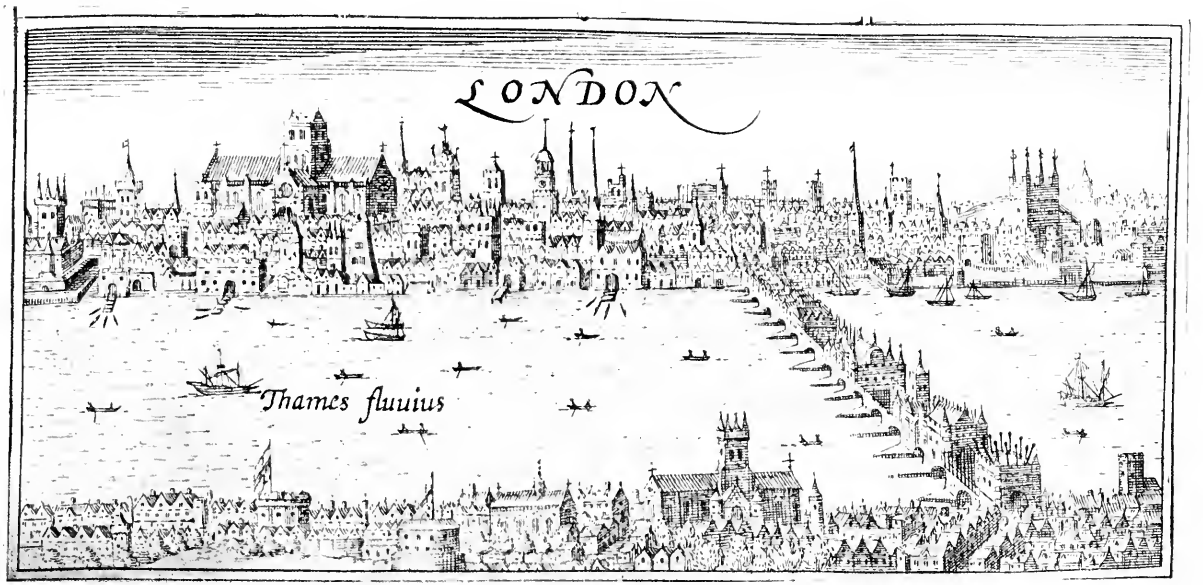
Whether the round building which appears in Hondius, in Delaram, and in other map-views, is the Globe Playhouse of the time is not wholly free from doubt.



Published in Norden's Speculum Britanniæ, 1593, showing a cylindrical "playhouse," the "Rose," on the north of Maid Lane.

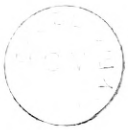
From the background of an engraved portrait of James I, after Delaram.





Inset to the Hondius' Map of Great Britain, 1610, in Speed's Atlas, 1611.

face 186 (2).



Insufficiency of the illustrated environment, together with the absence of a second similar house, such as appears in Norden, raises the question whether the round building

From Baker's Chronicle, 1643; probably based on the Hondius' inset, 1610 (Plate V).

may not have been intended for the Norden playhouse, and that the Globe, if originally present, was cut out of the picture,—of course to be omitted from succeeding copies and adaptations. The question is further complicated by the fact that in the same Atlas as that in which the Hondius inset occurred, *viz.*, Speed's, 1611, Norden's map reappears, with slight modifications, as an inset to the map of Middlesex. "The playhouse" is there, but without the label, while no indication is given of the playhouse of 1598/9,—the Globe. However this may be, until further information is obtained, doubt, not only in respect of the identification of the cylindrical building on Bankside which is present in the later map-views, must remain, but also in respect of the existence of any authentic view of Shakespeare's Globe.

We may now proceed to the well-known Visscher Panorama and compare it with the earlier map of Braun

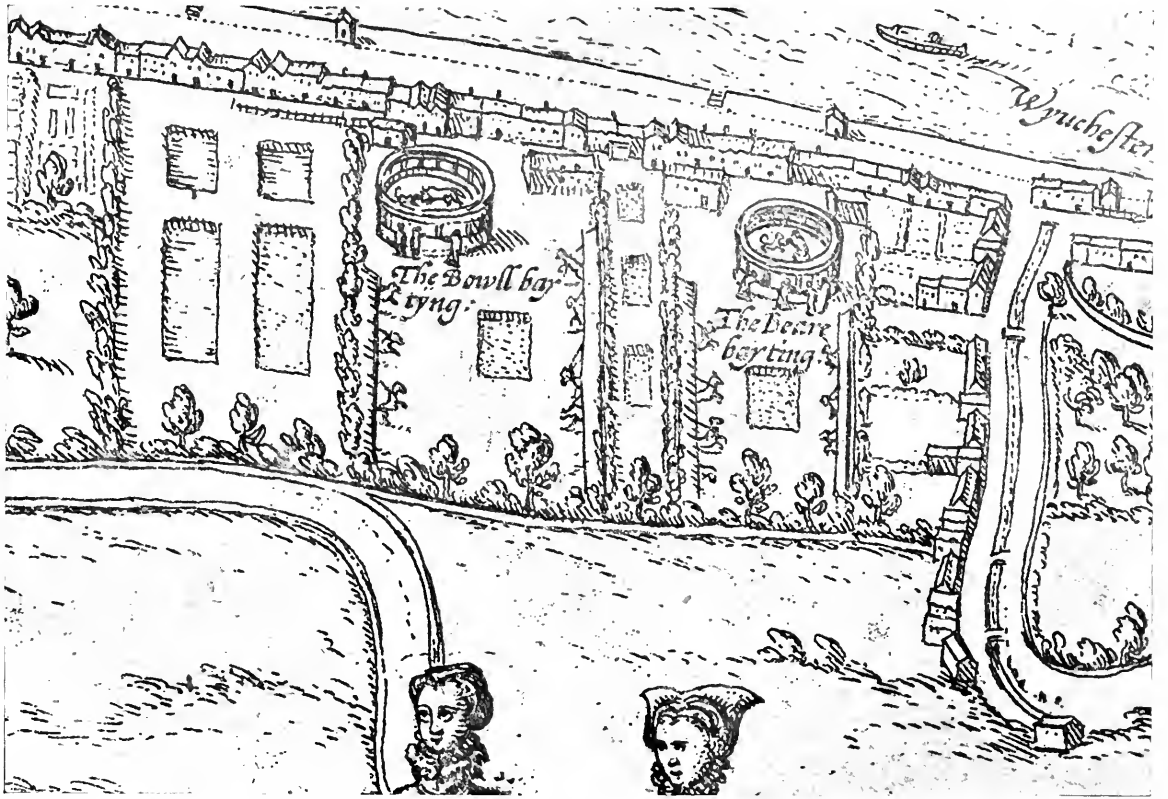
and Hogenberg, upon which it appears to have been based. Judging from the colophon of the letter-press which accompanies the copy of the Visscher Panorama in the British Museum, the Panorama is of date not later than 1616.[1] The earlier map, which has been attributed to Hoefnagel, appeared in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published in 1572. This map of Braun has been chosen for comparison, rather than the so-called Agas map,[2] on account of its probably more faithful adherence to some original.[3]

On the comparison being made, it would seem that Visscher, in the preparation of his Panorama, had before him the Braun map, or the original from which the Braun was derived. For instance, there are in common and expressed in similar style, Bankend on the east, with its central ditch, its pair of bridges and its trees, the houses lining the west side of Bankend, and the house at the east end of Maid Lane. The group of Pyke ponds to the west of "The Bolle bayting" also appear in each, while the houses along the edge of the river are alike in their conventional dress. At first sight also, it would seem as if the "Bear Garden" of Visscher was placed where the bull ring of Braun was situated and that "The Globe" occupied the site of the bear pit of Braun. A closer examination, however, reveals the four plots, counting westward from Bankend, to have been extended and elaborated and Visscher's "Bear Garden" to have been placed within the fourth plot from Bankend, viz.: on the site of Braun's bear pit. In Visscher, the third plot, although hidden between the hedges, can be traced. Passing westwards, the narrow plot of Braun with its three ponds and the adjacent bull-ring field have been suppressed in Visscher. This is evident from the want of parallelism between the ponds and the hedge and shed of the Bear Garden field. Here the cartographer experienced

[1] *London Topographical Record*, 1909, VI, 42.

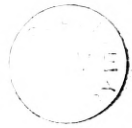
[2] Hubbard's *Site of the Globe Theatre, &c.*, Journal, R. I. B. A., Nov. 6th, 1909, 26.

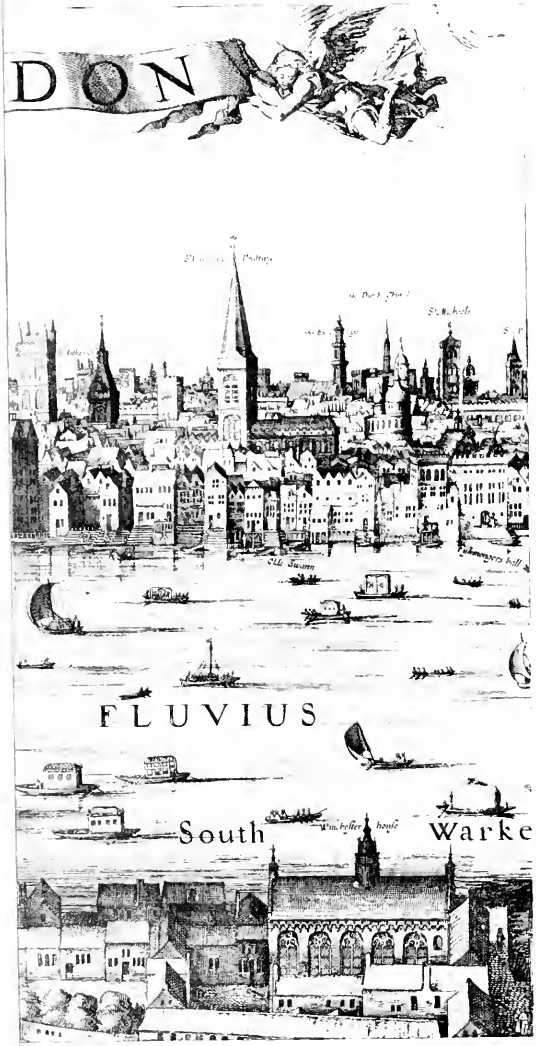
[3] Proc. S. A. L., 2 S., XXII, 535.



From the Atlas of Braun and Hogenberg, 1572, for comparison with Visscher's Panorama, 1616.

face 188 (I).





nberg's Atlas, 1572.

face 188 (2).

From Visscher's Panorama, 1616, for comparison with the View from Braun and Hogenberg's Atlas, 1572.

difficulty in joining the edges of the plots due to the suppression, and has not been successful in the operation.

The similarities are seen to be more pronounced when the "Agas" map is substituted for that from Braun.[1]

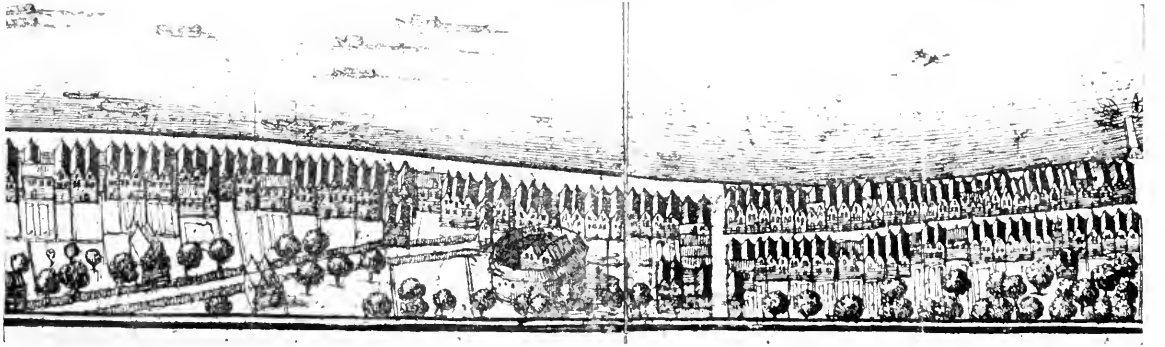
Although for the purposes of comparison, the plots on each map have been counted, yet it need not be supposed that the plots as shown represent accurately the true state of affairs, for they may be taken to be but typical of the character of the neighbourhood.

In this adaptation of Braun's map by Visscher, the words "The Globe" are attached to the prominent building on the north side of Maid Lane. It is far from clear, however, that the polygonal building thus styled, which was evidently some form of playhouse or amphitheatre, was in fact the Globe. It is known that Henslowe's "Rose" Playhouse—"The playhouse" of Norden—erected in 1586 or 1592, concurrently engaged the attention of the play-going public with the Globe and a Bear Garden. Thus Taylor (later than "In the month of January last, 1613") wrote, "I have knowne three companies, besides the Bear-bayting, at once there; to wit, the Globe, the Rose, and the Swan."[2] Further, there is no reason to doubt that both the Rose and the Bear Garden were on the north side of Maid Lane; and moreover the Rose was in existence at least as late as 1622, when a tithe was paid in respect of it.[3] Yet in Visscher there is no trace of the Rose, while "The Globe" is placed where the Rose would be expected. Therefore, Visscher, or the surveyor of the Panorama, having before him in the formation of his view the Braun map, and lacking intimate local information concerning what was then the relatively unimportant and possibly decaying Rose, but knowing by repute the renowned Globe, placed his Globe in the position of the Bear-pit of Braun and omitted the Rose. To account correctly for the absence of the Rose and the placing of the building styled "The Globe" on its site is not easy. It may well be that the Visscher

[1] *Vide* Hubbard's *Site, &c.* [2] Taylor's *Collected Works*, 1630, 1172.
[3] Greg's *Henslowe's Diary*, 1908, II, 44.

Panorama, as originally drafted, contained the Globe in a position to the south of Maid Lane, and on curtailing the depth of the view for publication, or for some other purpose, the Globe was consequently removed from the picture, along with associated matter on either side, the style "The Globe" within the limits of the picture being still allowed to remain. That the Panorama has been curtailed may be seen from the way in which its lower boundary sharply cuts through the line of hedging, a line such as in Braun forms the southern side of Maid Lane. Consequently, we know nothing of what originally appeared below this line on the sketch as prepared for the engraver. It may be that two playhouses correctly appeared on the original sketch, and that the engraver mistook his instructions when preparing the plate. Seeing two similar structures present, and possibly overlapping, he concluded that only one was intended, and accordingly engraved it to the north of Maid Lane. The delay and expense incidental to an alteration of the plate after engraving might have been a sufficient deterrent to a correction before publication. Further, bearing in mind the date, 1616, which is given in the colophon of the letter-press as the date of publication of the British Museum copy, and that the Globe was not rebuilt before 1614, the publication of a view so up to date as the Visscher must have been, for it correctly to have represented the new Globe, is of itself sufficient to arrest attention and to compel scrutiny as to its representations. Consequently, what we see in Visscher may not be the Globe, but rather the Rose, or a combination picture of the two set upon the site of the Rose. At any rate, whatever may have been the incidents in the preparation and publication of the Panorama, enough has been submitted to warrant our viewing it with suspicion, both in respect of the site and of the shape of the second Globe. To set at rest all doubt upon the matter, there is required a view of Bankside drawn either before the date of the burning of the Globe, or published soon after, in which there appear simultaneously the round Globe, the round "playhouse"

From Merian's map-view of London in Gottfried's Archontologia, 1638.



From the Hollar post-conflagration compilation in the Crace Collection.

ace 191.

of Norden, and the adjacent Bear Garden, together with sufficient environment to distinguish them from the Swan Playhouse which lay to the west in Paris Garden.

The next map which falls for consideration is that which was published, with others, in the *Archontologia* of Gottfried, the maps in which, according to the title-page, being by Merian. When we reach this map-view of London, we are on firmer ground. It is not until this publication in 1638 that, so far as present knowledge extends, the Globe, the Rose and Bear Garden, are found undoubtedly standing together in the same picture. Whether, indeed, in the year 1638 the Rose was still in existence is not known. Rendle says, "In the last great fire The Rose did expire," but gives no reference for his quotation; he adds, "but when that was, I am not quite clear."[1] That the Globe and a Bear Garden were standing together in 1638 there appears to be every reason to suppose.

To a large extent, the Merian view suggests an independent compilation, and, as such, may be considered as one of the types of the 16th- and 17th-century map-views of London.[2] Two of the polygonal buildings in Southwark are placed on what would seem to be one side of a road which runs north-westerly, while the third building (38) is on the other side of the same thoroughfare. In subsequently published views, which appear to be based upon or copied from this by Merian, the thoroughfare is much emphasised.[3] The road turns at an angle to a house which, together with the adjacent ditch, bridge, and tree, can be readily identified with those which appeared at the corner of Maid Lane and Bank-end in the Braun and Visscher maps. The angular turn in the road, Maid Lane, may have been introduced

[1] Rendle's *Rose*, xv, preceding Rendle's *Globe Playhouse*, 1878, App. I to *Harrison's Description of England*, Part II, 3rd book, by The New Shakspere Society.

[2] *The Antiquary*, Sept. and Nov. 1909.

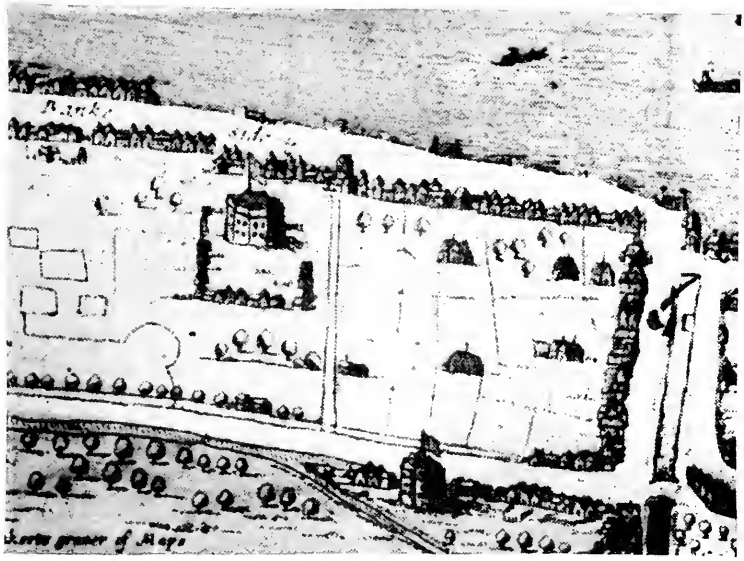
[3] *E.g.*, in Wilkinson's *Illustrata Londina*, 1819, and in Taylor's *Annals*, &c., 1833, 142–3, the view in the latter being "Engraved for *The Encyclopædia Londinensis*."

so as to prevent overlapping of the playhouses, and to preserve pictorial effect. The two buildings on the upper side of Maid Lane are similar to those depicted in Visscher. They are evidently the Rose (37) and the Bear Garden, while the building (38) which, being on the lower side of Maid Lane, in Visscher's view did not there appear, is clearly the Globe. The Rose, however, is styled the Globe in the key at the base of Merian's map, while the Globe is called the Bear Garden; the third building, the Bear Garden of Visscher, being unnamed. That the names have been wrongly marked, and that Maid Lane has been placed at an angle need not disturb us when we think of the convention and freedom adopted and exercised by engravers and artists in delineating the London of their days. From this map-view of Merian, then, we see the Globe assigned to a position south of Maid Lane.

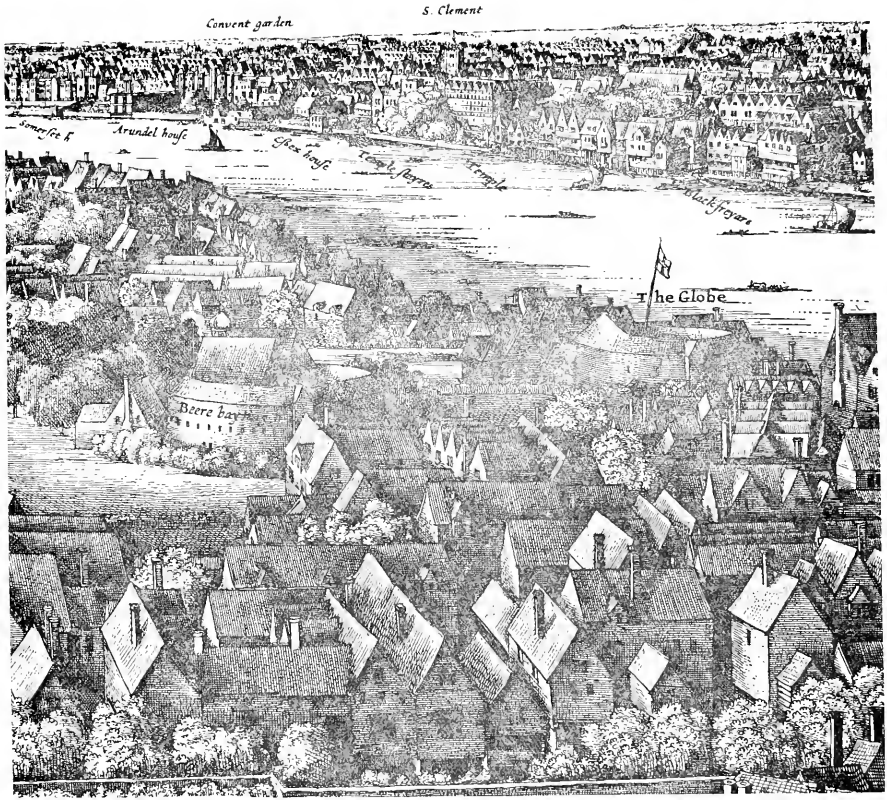
The "Ryther" map, so called, may now be examined.[1] The London Topographical Society having published the "Porter" map, *circa* 1660, which combines the "Ryther" with lateral portions drawn according to another style, we may, for convenience, allude to this type of map-view as the "Porter" map, and thereby avoid suggesting the erroneous attribution to Ryther. In the edition of the Porter map which accompanies Strype, 1720, the unfinished Southwark area contains a polygonal building which is evidently intended to represent one of the theatres or amphitheatres of Bankside; but beyond indicating that some building of this character was at one time in existence in Southwark, no reliable information is derivable therefrom. In the other edition of this map which is in the Crace Collection,[2] the Southwark area has received greater attention at the hands of the cartographer or engraver, and on the south side of Maid Lane a theatre is shown. This presumably is intended for the Globe. If the origin of this aug-

[1] Crace Catalogue; Maps and Plans, Part I, 31 and 32; Loftie's *Hist. of London*, 1883, II, 282, 286 n.

[2] Maps and Plans, Part I, 31; Kingsford's *Chronicles of London*, 190, *front.*; see also *Notes and Queries*, 7th S., III, 110; VII, 498.



From an edition in the Crace Collection of a map (1680–40) re-issued by Porter, c. 1660.



From Hollar's Panorama, 1647.

face 193.

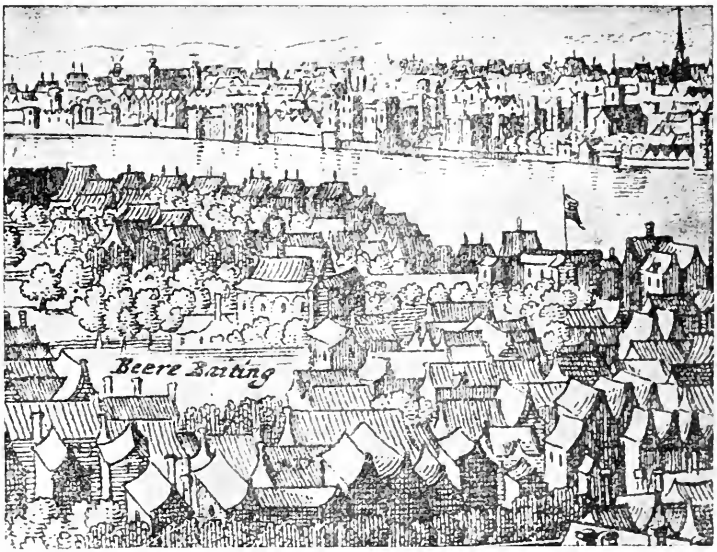
mented map could be traced, and the map were found to be contemporaneous with the Globe, the question would be settled as to the side of Maid Lane upon which the Globe stood, whether on the north or on the south. Knowing, however, the extent to which map-views have been adapted to later circumstances, and alterations effected upon insufficient evidence, this augmented re-edition in the Crace Collection cannot *per se* be taken as conclusive, but should be ranged with the other maps and items of evidence. As an example of an older map with augmentation, there is that publication upon a smaller scale of Vertue's "Agas" map of London during the 18th century. In this an isolated playhouse has been inserted in Southwark, and the label "Shakespeare's Playhouse" attached. This publication, one in which Maid Lane is not shown, may be neglected, except so far as it indicates the trend of current opinion.

In the long panoramic view of London which bears the name of Hollar and the date 1647, a building called "The Globe" appears prominently upon the Surrey bank of the river. This building is shown at the edge of the water near a road which on the west of the building runs approximately at right angles to the Thames. The Globe, as also the "Beere bayting h[ouse]," together with the neighbouring houses, have been so conventionalised in their representation as to suggest that the draftsman had no local knowledge. It would seem that he filled up an unplotted area from memory which was faulty.

For accurate or exact information concerning Bankside, the value of this map-view of Hollar is trifling

A word or two is desirable as regards the Faithorne and Newcourt map, 1658, of which only two early copies are known, viz., one in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and one in the British Museum. The Southwark area now under discussion is portrayed in a curiously mechanical fashion. A round, shell-like structure is shown under the name of the "Beare garden" in the midst of garden plots and park land, except on the north side where a row of Noah's Ark houses fringe the river.

The view may be compared with the plan of Morden and Lee, 1682, which seems by far to be the more trust-



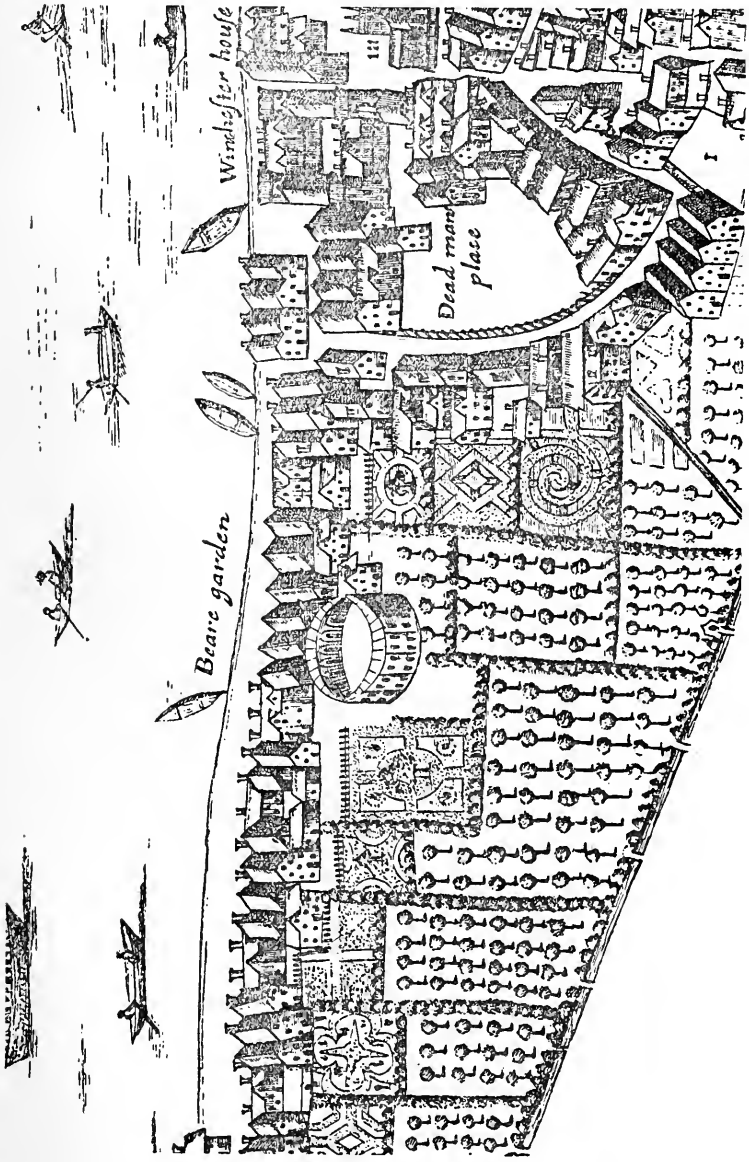
View of Bankside; after Hollar's Panorama of 1647 through successive copyings.

The view purports to show the Bear Garden and a playhouse.

worthy. The V-shaped ditch of Faithorne on the south of Winchester Park and others have here been inserted, according to plans in the Brewery, in the Ordnance map, and in the Brewery Plan of 1909 which accompany this Paper. If any thing is to be gathered from this map of Faithorne, it is that the Bear Garden lay to the south of a thoroughfare. Possibly its vagueness and conventional representation in respect of Bankside is a reflection of the similar defect in the Hollar panorama of 1647 which it seems to have followed. But so far as the area now in question is concerned, the map is fanciful.

There is also another map which requires attention, inasmuch as a theatre-like structure is illustrated to the south of a thoroughfare running approximately north-east and south-west through the locality in question.

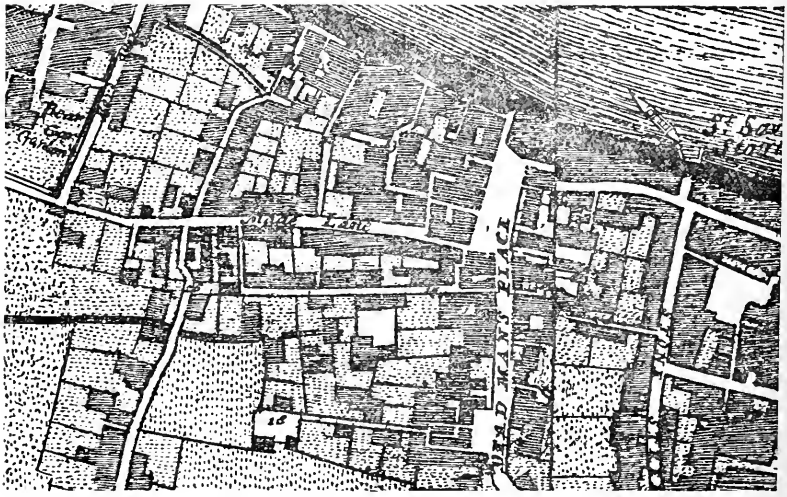
It is post-conflagration, and shows the burnt area of



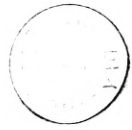
From the Faithorne and Newcourt map-view, 1658.

the City according to Leeke's survey, surrounded by portions according to another style of several years' earlier date. The original of this map has served for many editions. That edition in the Crace Collection which bears the name of Hollar depicts upon Bankside a building to the south of Maid Lane. The building is doubtless one of the theatres, and, from its position, may be identified with the Globe. Since, however, no other building of this character is shown and the lower edge of the map has removed what may be assumed to have been present originally, and, further, since houses and fields are so artificially expressed, too great reliance must not be placed upon its representation concerning the position of the Globe. So far as it may be relied upon, it shows a playhouse, presumably the Globe, to the south of a thoroughfare, apparently Maid Lane (*v.* Plate VIII).

By the time the plan-views of London as opposed to map-views came into use, Southwark was either not shown, as in the plan by Ogilby and Morgan of 1677, or the playhouses on Bankside had been extinguished. Accordingly, no playhouse is visible, for instance, in

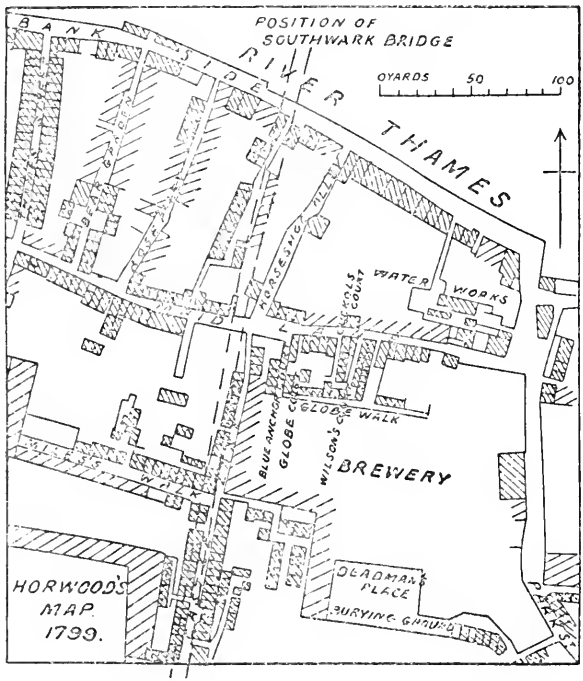


From Morden and Lee's plan-map, 1682.



From Rocque's map of 1746

Morden and Lee's plan-map of 1682. This map reappears by parishes and wards in Strype, 1720,[1] and may be compared with Rocque's map of 1746, which, in its turn, may be viewed with many others, reliable and unreliable, of the 18th century. From all of these, the vicinage of Maid Lane, prior to the absorption within the precincts of Thrale's Brewery of Globe Alley, may be traced through its various changes (*e.g.*, see Horwood's map, 1799).



To sum up this section of the Paper—of the whole series of map-views examined, the Visscher Panorama undoubtedly places the playhouse which it styles "The Globe" on the north of Maid Lane; but for reasons set out this attribution must be viewed with suspicion. The other maps of the series show, or are in favour of, a

[1] *London Topographical Record*, 1908, V, 117.

position to the south of the Lane; alternatively, their representations are such that no definite pronouncement is obtainable from them. As regards the situation of the Globe relatively to buildings or plots east and west of it which to-day are capable of identification, the maps and views yield little or no information.

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(4) SUMMING UP AND CONCLUSION.

Reviewing the evidence which has been set out in the course of this Paper, evidence which should serve as a starting-place for future research, we obtain the following:—

With respect to tangible remains of Shakespeare's Playhouse, or of its successor on the same spot, nothing to-day is known to exist from which to infer the position of the site. Whether excavation would produce successful results is an open question.

Mrs. Piozzi, whose first husband, Thrale, the Brewer, died in 1781, thought herself to have been an eye-witness of the last stages in decay of the Playhouse. In 1791, Pennant reported that the door was very lately standing. An inscribed stone which was exhumed near the Brewery well in 1884 and thoughtlessly destroyed by the workmen, may have been a relic of the Globe or of some other playhouse in the vicinity.

With respect to documents of a legal or semi-legal or official character, the Coram Rege Roll of 1616 places the Playhouse, according to one interpretation, to the north of Maid Lane, the present (east-and-west) Park Street; but as this is opposed to the tenor of other evidence concerning the site, the other interpretation of which it is susceptible should perhaps be chosen, *viz.*, one which would indicate the site to have been to the south of Maid Lane. Alternatively, the draftsman's orientation of the site was incorrect, which was probably the case. This southern attribution would be in accordance with extraneous evidence and would place the site against Globe Alley.

The Sacrament Token Book of 1621, with its marginal reference "Gloabe," points to the Playhouse being near one end of "Gloab Alley," the heading under which the word is placed. The contemporary indentures of 1626 upon the Close Roll speak of Globe Alley as that which led to the Playhouse. Each of two arms of an alley forming a right-angle being styled Globe Alley is satisfactorily explained by supposing them both to have led from important thoroughfares to the gate of the Globe or the plot on which the Globe stood. A Deed of 1706 mentions tenements "erected and built where the late playhouse called the Globe stood and upon the ground thereunto belonging." There is the probability of the plot of John Knowles, which, according to the Coram Rege Roll of 1616, bounded the Globe estate, being one of the same plots alluded to in the Brewery Deed of 1787 as "were or then late were" in 1715 in the occupation, among others, of John Knowles. The Deed of 1726/7 which dealt with what became the workhouse estate doubtlessly treated of the same property as that set out in the Deed of 1706. The workhouse estate bounded the outer side of the right angle formed by Globe Alley, by its short arm which extended northerly in Maid Lane, and possibly by a parallel alley.

Literary allusion, oral and written tradition, so far as it has been traced, is almost wholly in favour of the enclosure of the site by Barclay's Brewery, and of its situation along or beyond the line of Globe Alley.

Of the map-views of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Visscher Panorama of 1616 alone clearly illustrates the Globe as being to the north of Maid Lane. For the reasons, however, which have been stated, this placing by Visscher is suspicious, even if it is not clearly incorrect. The Merian view of 1638, when the references are corrected, appears conclusive as to the relative positions of the contemporary Bear Garden and the Rose on the north side of Maid Lane and opposite to the Globe on the south side of the lane. The other map-views which have been considered are in favour of, or not inconsistent with, the southern attribution of the site.

Finally, having regard to the general concurrence of testimony derived from numerous independent sources, to the smallness of the area of conflict as compared with that where substantial agreement is present, and to the ease with which such conflict where it occurs can be accounted for, the balance of probability is, in the opinion of the writer, in favour of a position to the south of (east-and-west) Park Street, Southwark; along the line of the formerly existing Globe Alley; on the ground where from 1727 to 1774, there stood the workhouse for the poor of Southwark; behind what, to a few years ago, was known as 15, Anchor Terrace, Southwark Bridge Road; within the area covered by the Brewery of Barclay, Perkins and Co., Limited; about 120 yards west from the south-east corner of east-and-west Park Street and from 100 to 200 feet south of the Globe Memorial Bronze as erected by The Shakespeare Reading Society.

I take this opportunity of thanking the many who have been good enough to interest themselves in this Paper. I am particularly indebted to the Directors of Barclay, Perkins and Co., Limited, for the kindness and courtesy shown to me on every occasion when prosecuting my inquiries, and also to those of the Brewery Staff with whom, from time to time, I have had the pleasure to converse; to Mr. Marson, M.A., solicitor for the debenture holders of the brewery for his valuable advice concerning the title deeds of the Brewery; to Mrs. C. C. Stopes, who has helped me of her abundant stores of knowledge; to Mr. M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A., for his extension of the Coram Rege Roll of 1616; and to Mr. Tabrum, Warden of the Great Account of St. Saviour's. My thanks are also specially due to the Editor of the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, and Mr. George Hubbard, F.S.A., and to Mr. W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A., Editor of *The Home Counties Magazine*, for lending me blocks for illustration purposes. Without the kindly co-operation of all of these, the Paper would have been shorn of much that is interesting, and possibly of all that for which the Author hopes it may prove to be of value.

(5) POSTCRIPT.

While this Paper was in the Press the following information concerning the discovery of twenty years or so ago was kindly communicated by Mr. E. Barclay. It is possible that remains which were then exhumed formed a part of the Globe; but, whether this is so or no, the discovery seems to be of sufficient interest to deserve mention here.

In the year 1891, the ground-floor of No. 10 Cellar in the Brewery was being lowered, this cellar lying to the south of and being contiguous to the workhouse plot. According to the testimony of Messrs. H. W. Pinder, Clerk of the Works, T. A. Pinder, and Ned Wright, who were engaged upon the work, a wooden staging was discovered at a depth of five to seven feet below the ground level. The staging was supported on the mud-piling usual to the locality, and was composed of "plates," or joists, about four feet apart, each of which carried two or three courses of "Stretcher" bricks. The bricks supported other plates across which were laid floor-boards of pitch-pine. The shape of the staging was semi-circular with the flat side towards the north. The size, so far as can be remembered, was about thirty feet across, or, say, forty feet long by thirty feet wide. Through the staging two holes had been cut, and in each cavity an independent footing of the same character as the staging had been constructed. These smaller stagings or footings were each surmounted by a stone slab, a stone block not unlike those which are placed under wheat- and hay-stacks, and an upright piece of timber for supporting a vat or the roof of the cellar. Beyond the interest occasioned by the find itself, the attention of the witnesses, whose testimony has been given, was keenly directed towards the details owing to the assertion of a curio-purchaser, who hovered about the remains as the work was progressing, that he believed the wood-work which they had uncovered was in truth the stage of the old Globe.

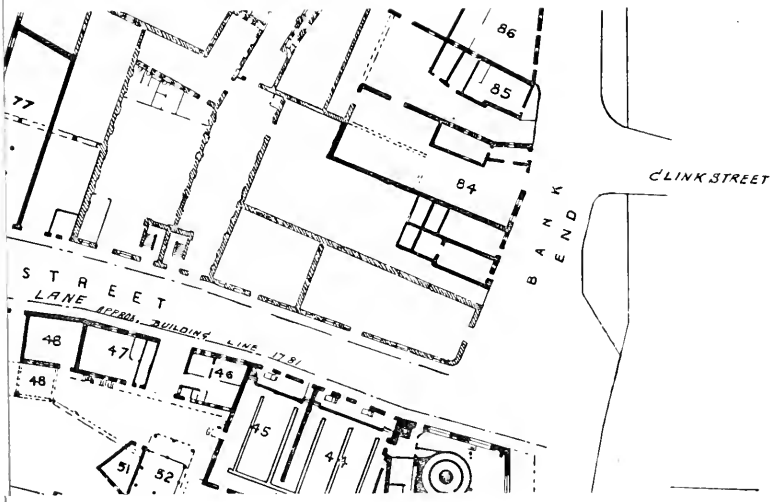
The staging may, of course, have carried the tower of some building; but no evidence of this is forthcoming. The possibility of its being a support for a vat is suggested; but its depth below the surface of the ground, and its size, scarcely favour that idea. Moreover, the Clerk of the Works is positive that it was not the support for a vat. That it was a portion of the Globe is, however, not an unreasonable hypothesis, since its construction and dimensions are comparable with those of the Playhouse in so far as they have been ascertained. For instance, the second Globe, like the first, was of wood, and built on an old foundation; and there was the likelihood of brick appearing above the ground. As regards dimensions, the size of the Playhouse was probably small, for the rectangular "Fortune," at Cripplegate, 1600, which in so many many particulars was fashioned after the Globe was only fifty-five feet across internally.

Further, it will be remembered that Concanen's *History of Southwark* states, that "upon its site [*i. e.*, of the Playhouse], now stands a large storehouse for porter" *supra*, p. 178). Reference to the Brewery plans of 1771 onwards, shows a storehouse to have been on the spot now occupied by No. 10 Cellar where the remains were discovered.

On the Brewery plan, 1909, the site and shape of the staging, so far as they are remembered, are indicated in No. 10 Cellar, some fifty feet to the south of the Workhouse plot, to the north of which, at the end of the formerly existing Globe Passage, the Globe Memorial is placed.

If, then, the staging was truly a portion of the Globe, the site of the Playhouse must have been a few feet to the south of the plot to which the evidence in the Paper assigns it. But the whole relation of the find to the Globe deserves a closer investigation and a treatment fuller than can be accorded in a mere postscript. The future must decide for what structure or purpose the staging was originally designed.

PLATE XII.



86
85
77
84
CLINK STREET
BANK END
STREET
LANE APPROX. BUILDING LINE 1781
48
47
48
146
45
44
51
52

PLAN OF THE BREWERY OF MESSRS. BARCLAY, PERKINS & CO., LIMITED, 1909.

The site of the Workhouse for the poor, upon which the Globe probably stood, the sites of Globe and other Alleys, and the position of other features of interest have been marked thereon.

face 202.

EARLY WOODEN TALLIES RELATING TO SURREY.

BY

C. H. JENKINSON, B.A., F.S.A.,

ONE OF THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.

THE history of the word *tally* in its modern senses is an interesting one. The notching of sticks is an early and natural expedient among unlearned people for the recording of calculations of any kind. It is usual to say that our word is connected with the French *tailler:* more precisely, perhaps, we might derive it directly from the Latin *talea*, the twig or slip grafted upon a standard. But it is simply this idea of a twig which may be cut in a defined way to represent *numbers* that has given us the word which we find in "tally-man" and which is still used (in the sense of some number agreed upon—ten, a dozen, a score) under various systems of numeration in different parts of the world;[1] while the special sense of *agreement* given in our verb "to tally" results from the discovery that a wooden tally might be split into halves, each an exact facsimile, so far as marks were concerned, of the other. It may be added that the wooden tally, in its simplest forms, is still used in some parts of France (particularly by bakers), and in the Kentish hop fields.

The official use of wooden tallies for financial purposes was developed mainly, if not entirely, in England, and at an early date.[2] We cannot here go into the

[1] *E.g.*, in the English wine trade and in coaling operations in the Mediterranean.

[2] "Tallies were of great and constant use in the Exchequer. The "use of them was very ancient; coeval, for aught that I know, with "the Exchequer itself in *England*. The word 'tallie' is originally "*French*. It signifies *cutting*, as every Body knows." (Madox).

history of tallies and their usage, concerning which much information may be found in Madox (*History of the Exchequer*), and other authorities; nor into the exact interpretation of the passage in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* which sets forth the manner of their cutting.[1] It must suffice to say that their usefulness was very early recognised at the Royal Exchequer. At the time when they first appear they were made of slips of hazel about 8 inches long, smoothed so as to be, roughly, square in section. On two of the sides were written in duplicate the facts about the payment they represented, and on the other two notches were cut for the sums in question: the stick was then cut half through at about two inches' distance from one end and the large part slit down longitudinally, the slit passing through all the notches; the result of which was, so to speak, a cheque and counterfoil, of unequal size but each containing the same information in writing and in notches. There were various names for these two parts, but the larger was usually called the stock (*stipes*), and the smaller the foil or leaf (*folium*). The accounting officer, who had paid in the sum, kept the stock, the Exchequer the foil.

The system of numeration and accounting in use at the Exchequer was a very complicated one; and corresponding with this we find quickly established a large collection of usages and precedents for the employment, treatment, and registration of tallies.[2] The method of indicating, by the position or width of the notches, the amounts paid, was presently fixed (it is explained in the *Dialogus*); and the popularity of this instrument was then assured. The Royal Officers habitually paid in at Easter—it was called their Easter "profer"—large sums for which they did not account till Michaelmas: and,

[1] p. 41, *ed.* Hughes, Crump and Johnson. The *Dialogus* was written about 1180, and the tally system was then fully organised. The earliest Pipe Roll of the Exchequer is of 31 Henry I.

[2] *See* Madox, *op. cit.*; Jones, *Index to Exchequer Records*; Hall, *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, and Introduction to *Pipe Roll Society*, Vol. III.

when the accounting time came, the usefulness and convenience, to both sides, of tallies for these sums was obvious; for the tally was at once portable and easily intelligible, and the arithmetic of the period was generally cumbrous[1]; and moreover, since the two parts preserved by payer and payee were produced and compared, it was unlikely to be either tampered with or disputed; while after the audit both parts could be preserved together at the Exchequer for future reference.

From being a mere receipt the tally soon came to be used as an instrument of assignment or a cheque: a creditor of the Exchequer might be paid with a tally to be exchanged for cash with some Royal officer who had money to pay in.[2] We cannot now do more than mention the private use of tallies; it was probably considerable, the King's Officer, for instance, dealing with his subordinates as the Exchequer dealt with him: nor have we space to treat of their later official history. But we may note that they continued in use in some departments down to the nineteenth century, by which time they had grown to a very great length. In 1826 this use was abolished by statute. It was then determined to destroy the large quantity of tallies of all dates still in existence; and it is stated that their "immoderate burning in a small stove" started the fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament.[3] At any rate the evidence necessary fully[4] to explain the passage in the *Dialogus* above-mentioned disappeared until recently a find was made, in the Chapel of the Pyx at Westminster, of some hundreds of tallies dating from the time of Henry III and Edward I. Though they are a century later than the *Dialogus*, the explanation there given of the manner of cutting still perfectly applies: and in the collection were preserved, fortunately, the interesting Surrey tallies here illustrated.

[1] At the Exchequer it was done by means of an enormous *abacus* or chess-board.

[2] Edward I, *e.g.*, sometimes paid his large debts to the foreign bankers by tallies on the collectors of taxes.

[3] *See* Brayley and Britton, *Houses of Parliament*, p. 414.

[4] *Dialogus* (*ed. cit.*), p. 42.

PLATE I.—These tallies all refer to one series of transactions, representing nine payments made by the sheriff of Surrey during the 22nd year of Edward I: the first two show payments made at the Easter profer (*see above*), the remaining seven belong to the Michaelmas audit. Little is known of the sheriff, Robert de Glamorgan. His seems to have been a purely official career, and he appears several times during the reign as bearing the king's commission (of "oyer and terminer," and so forth) in Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire:—

(1) Payment, in respect of various debts, of 40*l.* *Inscription:*—De Rob*er*to de Glamorgan vic*ecomite* de deb*itis* plur*imis*. Surr' Sussex.

Note the broad notches for scores of pounds.

(2) Issues of forfeits, 3*l.* 4*d.* *Inscription:*— . . . . de exit*ibus* div*ersorum* for*isfactorum*. Surr' Sussex'. *Anno Regis Edwardi* xxij°. Pasch*a*.

Note the three pound-notches on the lower side.

(3) Debts. 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Note on the upper side the marks for pounds, shillings and pence (the pounds furthest to the left); and on the lower side the score and half-score.

(4) The remainder of his (the sheriff's) farm (of the county). 27*l.* 8*s.* *Inscription:*— . . . . de rem*anenti* firme com*itatus*. Surr' Sussex'.

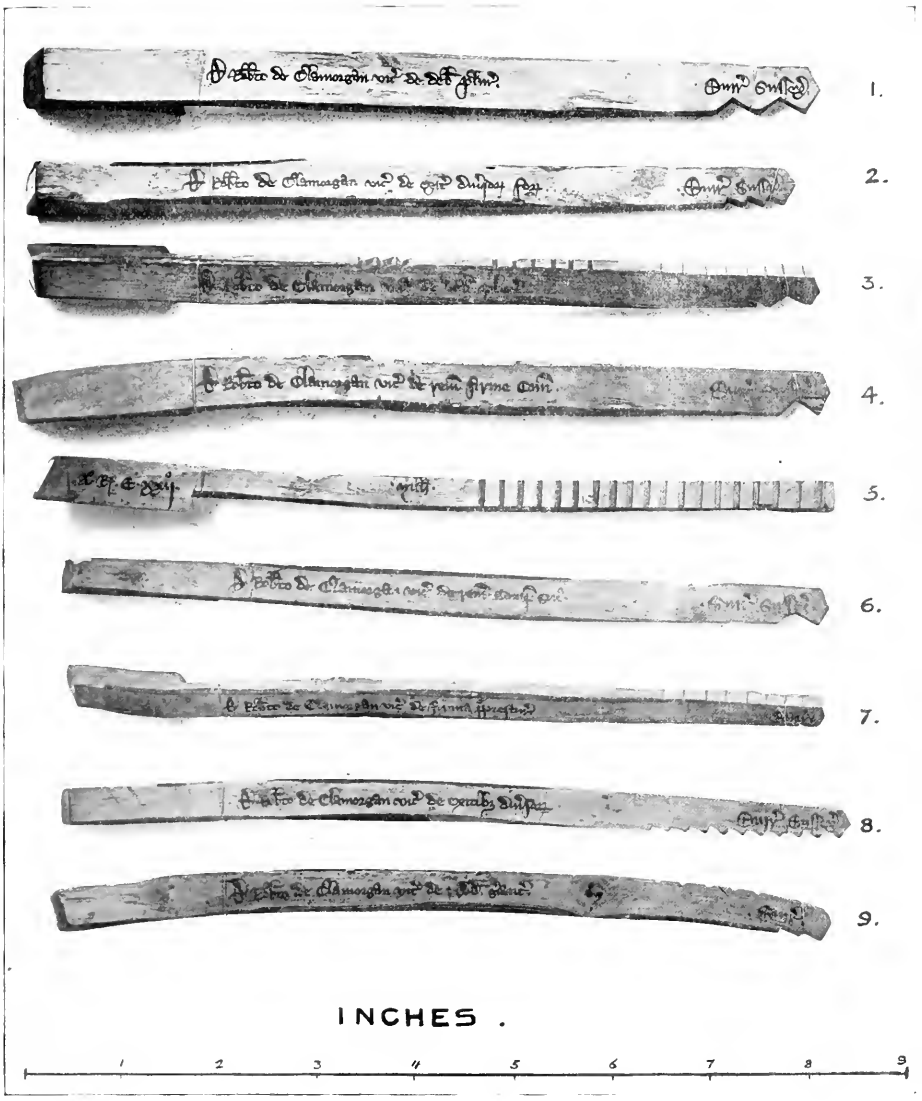
(5) *Inscription:*—*Anno Regis Edwardi* xxij°. Mich*aelis; and unseen*— . . . . de minutis p*artic*ulis foreste. Surr'. 19*s.*

(6) The remainder of the sheriff's account—de rem*anenti* compo*ti sui*. 22*l.*

(7) Purprestures (*i. e.*, encroachments), 1*s.* 8*d.*—(de firma P*u*rpresturarum. Surr').

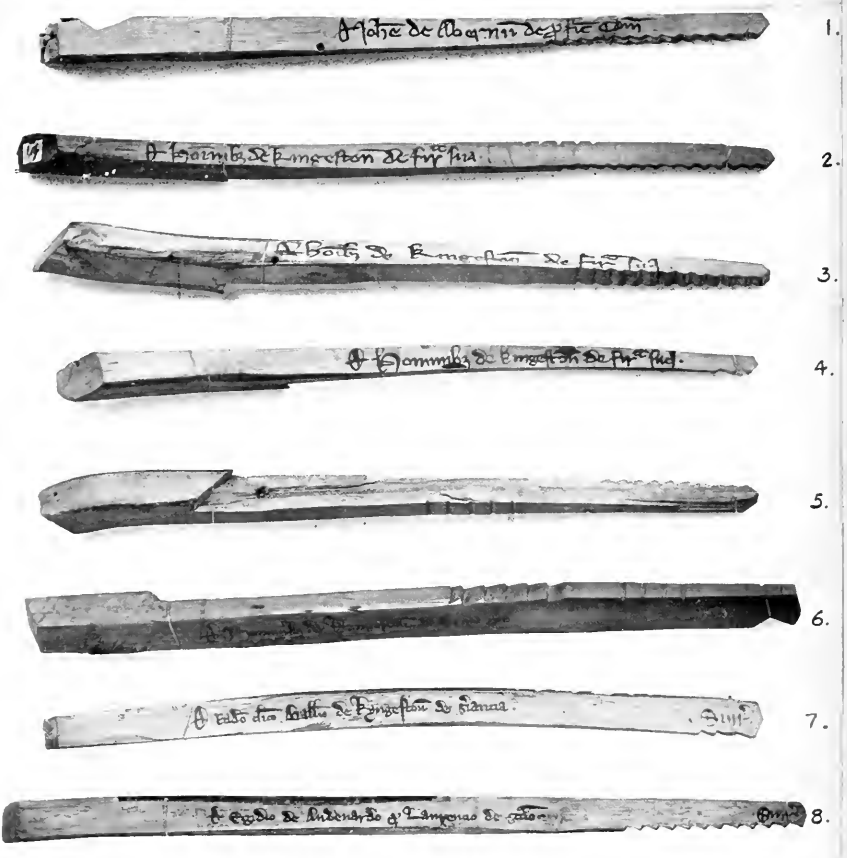
(8) Issues of various kinds. 10*l.* (de exitib*us* diu*er*sor*um*. Surr' Sussex').

(9) Rent of his serjeanty (de redd*itu* ser*jant*ie Surr'). 2*l.* 5*s.*



Tallies of Robert de Glamorgan, sheriff.
22 Edward I.

face 206.



Tallies of Sir John d'Abernon and others.
Various dates.

PLATE II.—Many of these tallies, though older than those on the preceding plate, cannot be more exactly dated than by saying that they are before the nineteenth year of Edward I (1290), when the custom began of writing the date on one side of them.

(1) A very interesting tally relating to payment by John d'Abernon, as sheriff of Surrey, of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the profits of his county: this is the knight commemorated by the famous brass at Stoke d'Abernon,[1] the oldest in England. John d'Abernon was sheriff in 1264 and 1265. *Inscription:*—De Johanne de Abernun de proficuis Comitatus.

The next five tallies are on account of payments by the men of Kingston for the farm of their town: (2) is for 14*l.* 5*s.*; (3) for 12*l.*; (4) for 2*l.*; (5) of 14*l.* 5*s.*; (6) of 25*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*; the last only is dated, it is of the year 22 Edward I. (5) is here reversed to show the angle at which the cut half through the tally was made.

(7) Of Ralph, clerk, Bailiff of Kingston, of his serjeanty. 3*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* Easter, 21 Edward I. *Inscription:*—De Radulpho Balliuo clerico de Kyngestona de seriantia. Surr'. anno Regis Edwardi xxvj°. Michaelis.

(8) Of Giles de Audenard for Laurence de Scaccario. Easter, 22 Edward I. 11*l.* *Inscription:*—De Egidio de Audenardo pro Laurencio de scaccario. Surr'. anno Regis Edwardi xxij°. Pascha.

[1] *See* Manning and Bray, *History of Surrey*, II, p. 721: *S. A. C.*, XX.

NOTES.

[*Under this heading the Editor will be pleased to insert notes and short articles relative to discoveries and other matters of interest to the history and archæology of the County. All communications intended for this section should be addressed to the Castle Arch, Guildford.*]

I.

THE ALLEGED LOST PARISH OF HERCELEIA OR HERTELEIA IN SURREY.

The work of the late Major Heales for the Society was so good, that if I venture to point out what I think was an error in it, the attempt will, I hope, be accepted as a compliment to his general accuracy. It is worth while to warn against the small error, as I believe it to be, of a guide who usually may be followed with confidence.

In Vol. VII of our *Collections*, in his notice of Horley Church, he mentions an agreement between Merton Priory and the priest of Herceleia or Hertleia, he is doubtful of the reading, which made the Horley (Horleia) tenants of Merton parishioners of this church. He surmises that there was a now lost parish of Herceleia or Herteleia in Surrey, near Horley.

In his *Merton Cartulary*, pp. 48 and 73, he refers again to this agreement with the priest of Herceleia or Hercleia, adopting that spelling, and also to a grant of land in the parish of Hercleye, explaining this as in Horley in Surrey. The name really is Hertleye, and the identification with Horley is mistaken.

Merton did hold land in Horley in Surrey. It was called Landshot in Horley. We learn the fact of the holding from the *Inquisitio post mortem* of Roger Salaman (I. P. M., 17 Ed. III, 45), and the name from the Ministers' Accounts in 32 Henry VIII, after the time of the Dissolution.[1] But there is no evidence of any parish or church of Herceleia or Herteleia in Surrey.

The name is Hertleia in the Cottonian MS., *Cleopatra*, C. VII, Cart. 113, f. xcv, not Herceleia, and the church meant is, beyond

[1] Between 1222 and 1231 Merton granted a house and 4 acres of land at Langset to Robert son of Walter de Horle for 20*s*. per acre. Cart. 215, f. cxv. No doubt the same.

doubt, Hartley Waspall in Hampshire, also called Hartley Westpole. In the same MS., Cart. 171, f. cvi, *verso*, and on f. cvii (*see* page 73 of Major Heales' *Cartulary of Merton)*, is a grant by the Priory to Geoffrey son of Walter and his heirs of forty-four acres of land "all along to the bridge in the parish of Hertleye" (spelt by Major Heales *Hercley* and explained as Horley).

This land is described as "east of that of Osbert Waspaill." This Osbert Waspaill was one of the family from whom Hartley Waspall is named. The charter continues that Geoffrey and his heirs are to send a man to mow every year at Matingle. Now Mattingley is a chapelry in the parish of Heckfield, the next parish to Hartley Waspall. Further, Geoffrey and his heirs are to owe suit of court in the Priory Court at Pucham. This, spelt in the one-inch Ordnance map as Pitam, is close to Hartley Waspall village.

In 1156 A.D. Henry II had granted to Merton land *apud Heortlegam*, *apud Peotam*, *apud Helcham*, *apud Hupeton*. (Cart. Antiq., R. 7.) In the general confirmation of Merton grants, made in 5 Henry VIII (*see* Major Heales' *Cartulary*, Appendix CL), these places appear as Heortlega, Pecham, Hecfeud and Upton. Major Heales identified the second and fourth with Peckam and Upton in Buckinghamshire. But Heortlega is Hartley Waspall certainly, Pecham is Pitam almost certainly, Hecfeud is clearly Heckfield and Upton I suspect is also in Hampshire, though I cannot identify it. However, Upton does not matter, the others formed the basis of the Merton manor of Holeshete or Holshot, or Holdshot, which gives its name to the Hampshire Hundred in which Hartley Waspall, Heckfield, Pitam and Mattingley all lie. Merton held this manor of Holdshot till the Dissolution. Holdshot Mill is still existing, close to Heckfield. In Adam's *Index Villaris*, of 1680, Holdshot is called a village. I cannot learn that there is any village so called now.[1] In the Cottonian MS., already referred to, Cart. 131, f. xcviii, *verso*, is an agreement of *circa* 1190, made with the priest of Heifeld, that the canons of Merton may have services in their chapel within the boundaries of their manor of Holeschett, provided that parishioners of Heifeld do not resort to the chapel on feast days. This was no doubt the chapel of Mattingley, and Heifeld was Heckfield. The tenants of Horleia, who were to be parishioners of Hertleia (Hartley Waspall), were no doubt somewhere in the same neighbourhood. In the Hampshire *Victoria County History* the translation of *Domesday* explains the Hampshire manor of Harleia, which was in Holdshot Hundred and held by Alberic the Chamberlain, as Hartley Waspall—Westpall it is there spelt. I do not know of a present Horley in Holdshot Hundred. Just outside a detached portion of the hundred the six-inch Ordnance map marks Hornley, and a little farther off is Hawley. But the latter is in Yateley parish, in another hundred. It is some ten miles from Hartley Waspall Church, and is not probably the place meant by Horleia. But neither, certainly, is that to be found in Horley in Surrey, some forty-five miles away.

[1] Holdshot is not Aldershot, with which Manning and Bray have identified it. Aldershot is not in Holdshot Hundred.

I have no doubt that the *Victoria County History* identification of Harleia with Hartley Waspall is substantially right, though the two neighbouring places were distinguished from each other in the 12th century. I cannot learn that Horley is now a known name in Hartley Waspall parish.

There are two other trifling slips in the *Merton Cartulary*. In Appendix, p. ii, 1178–9 (*Quo Warranto*) should be 1278–9; and on page lxxv, Ed. III should be Ed. I, and 1333–4 should be 1278–9.

H. E. Malden.

II.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HERALDS' VISITATIONS.

The two following documents should be of interest:—

(1) is a specimen of the form used by the Heralds to inform the Knights, Gentlemen and Esquires of the County or Counties "visited" to be ready on a certain day (to be named) at "eight of the Clocke before noone" to produce proofs of their pedigrees and their right to bear arms at the Visitation of the Heralds (in 1623). It is dated 5 Aug. 1623 (21st Jac. I).

(2) is undated, but is issued from "Darking," and mentions the names of three Gentlemen and one Esquire who had failed to appear in answer to the Heralds' Summons.

A. Ridley Bax, F.S.A.

(1) From Harl. 4204, Fol. 11.

To the Conftables of the Towne of
or to any of them, greeting.

Thefe are to require you, and in the Kings Maiefties name to charge and command you, That forthwith vpon the fight heereof, you warne thefe Knights, Efquires, and Gentlemen, whofe names are vnderwritten, perfonally to appeare before us Robert Trefwell Efquire, Somerfet Herald, and Auguftine Vincent Rouge-Croix, Officers of Armes, Marfhals to Clarenceux King of Armes, at the figne of the vpon being the day of at eight of the clocke before noone the fame day, where we intend to fit, for the Regiftring of the Gentlemen within that Towne. And that they bring with them fuch Armes and Crefts as now they vfe and beare, with their Pedegrees and Defcents, and fuch of their Evidences or matter of Credite, as may (if neede require) ivftifie the fame. That we knowing how they vfe and challenge the Names of Efquires and Gentlemen, and beare their Armes, may make entrance thereof accordingly. And thofe that may not commodioufly bring fuch their Evidences and auncient Writings, as will ferue to prove the Antiquities of their Families, but fhalbe

defirous to haue vs home to their houfes: vpon the fignification of their defires, we will make our repaire vnto them fo foone as conveniently we may. But if we fhall not heare from them, vpon this warning by you given, their contempt will enforce vs to proceede, as our Commiffion appointeth in fuch Cafes, not onely to adiourne thofe that be Gentlemen, to anfwer the fame before the Right Honourable the Earle Marfhall of England, on a day prefixed: but alfo to difclaime and make infamous by Proclamation, all fuch as fhall refufe to make proofe of their Gentry, having vfurped the name and Title thereof, without ivft authority or due calling. Of all thefe things charge them not to faile, as they will avoyde the perill and trouble that by any their contempts may enfue. Given at the Office of Armes in London, the fift day of Auguft Anno Domini 1623, in the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of our moft gracious Soueraign Lord James, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc. and of Scotland the feuen and fiftieth.

(2) From Harl. 1433. Dorse of folio 195 (186) at end of book.

Tenor of the Warrant of Windsor and Rouge Croix [Heralds] to the Constables of..... whom They commanded to summon four Gentlemen to appear before Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey Earl Marshall of England to answer for their Contempts in making default of Appearance before them at ther Visitation.

To the Constables of the towne [of Darkinge ?]
and to theire deputies there
greeting.

Whereas these whose names are underwritten have been lawfully warned by the chiefe constables of the hundred of &c. to appeare before us Windsor & Rouge-Croix for the proofe of their gentry and Armes but haue made default therein in contempt of the great seale of England and of his Mast^is^ seruice wch we attended Thes are therfore to require you and in his Maties name Straightly to commaund you that presently upon the sight here of you warne them and every of them under the paine of Twentie pounds a man to be paid to his Ma^tis^ use personally to apeare before the right honourable Thomas Earle of Arundell & Surrey Earle Marshall of England on Saterday the eighteenth of October next coming next after the date hereof then & there to appeare to answere there contempts in this behalfe and also of sueh other matters as shall be obiected against them. ffaile not hereof as you will answeare the contrarie at your perrills and make retourne of this Warrant to the office of Armes in London wth there seuerall answears. Given under our hands at Darking.

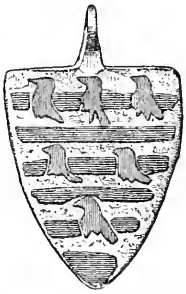
William Wonham of Darkinge Gent.
cristofer Gardñer of the sam—Esq.
William Comber of the sam—Gent.
Oliuer Huntley of the sam—Gent.

III.

ARMORIAL PENDANT FOUND AT MITCHAM.

Early in 1909 a discovery of considerable interest was made near Mitcham Green, perhaps one of the best of the Surrey village-greens still left near London. On examination, the object discovered has been found to be of even greater importance than was at first suspected. It is an armorial pendant consisting of a heater-shaped shield, with a small projection at the upper end pierced for suspension. It bears the enamelled arms of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1324, when the family became extinct.

It is not necessary in this place to enlarge upon the historical importance of the de Valence family. Their place and magnitude in our national annals are well known.



Enamelled Armorial Pendant found at Mitcham.

$\frac{1}{1}$

The pendant itself is an admirable example of late 13th or early 14th century enamel. The arms, *barry of twelve argent and azure, an orle of six martlets gules*, are depicted in good colours and in admirable heraldic proportions. The deep blue, and the restrained quality of the red used for the martlets, are well preserved. The enamelling has been laid down on a thin plate of copper, the decomposition or oxidation of which has produced a greenish stain which has spread over the bars of argent, represented by white enamel.

The pendant may have been worn by one of de Valence's household, and was evidently lost by accident, the loop for suspension having been worn through. It is now in private possession, but it is to be hoped that eventually it will be added to the national collection in the British Museum. The owner, Mr. H. B. P. Owen, has allowed the accompanying drawing to be made as an illustration, and we owe him our thanks for his kindness.

George Clinch.

IV.

DISCOVERY OF ANGLO-SAXON GRAVES AT CARSHALTON.

In November, 1906, in the course of widening Carshalton Road, at a point near the southern end of Ringstead Road, traces of several graves were uncovered. The road widening was made in connection with the new electric tramway between Sutton and Croydon, and the ground was cut down in some places as much as 4 ft. The remains, consisting mainly of human bones, were found 2 ft. 6 in. below the surface of the ground.

A rumour that several spear-heads had also been found at Carshalton obtained currency in the neighbourhood, but for a long time I was unable to learn definite particulars. Eventually, however, I gathered that the relics found had been taken to the offices of the Carshalton District Council, and on applying to the courteous officials, Mr. C. P. Lovelock (Clerk), and Mr. W. Willis Gale, A.M.I.C.E. (Surveyor), I was shown a box containing a number of fragments of human bones, including fragments of at least two skulls. With them was an iron spear-head, 1 ft. 2 in. long, which originally had been furnished with a socket, part of which was broken off. The form and size of this spear-head agree very closely with those which usually have been found with Anglo-Saxon remains, and afford sufficient reason for thinking that an Anglo-Saxon cemetery once occupied the nearly level top of this hill near the boundary dividing Sutton from Carshalton. Such a site was often chosen for Anglo-Saxon burials, and the discovery of several traces of burials in different places, during the course of the excavations, suggests that this was a cemetery of some size.

Further building operations, which are likely to be carried out soon on the Welhurst Garden Estate, may perhaps afford opportunity of examining other burials, with the result that something more definite as to the direction and contents of the graves may be ascertained.

Meanwhile, it is worthy of note that this part of Surrey has furnished evidences of many Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, of which those at Farthing Down, Croydon, and Mitcham, are the best known.

27*th April*, 1910. GEORGE CLINCH.

NOTICES OF RECENT BOOKS.

[*The Editor is prepared to accept for review books that may be forwarded to him for that purpose, provided such books either deal with subjects of special interest to the county of Surrey or are of general archæological interest. Before sending books, authors and publishers are recommended to communicate in the first instance with the Editor, Castle Arch, Guildford.*]

THE GENEALOGIST'S POCKET LIBRARY.

Vols. V and VI. Chas. A. Bernau. Walton-on-Thames. 1909.

These are two more volumes in a series which we noticed last year.

In Vol. V, Mr. William Bradbrook deals first with the records of *Quarter Sessions*. He explains how he was led to interest himself in these neglected records by seeing some rolls which had been "handed over to the Buckinghamshire Archæological Society for what they were worth." Though, as Mr. Bradbrook says, the subject is too large to be treated of in a small space, he does a good work here in calling attention, as others have already done, to the widely-distributed mass of records which, though not of course of the first importance, are yet sufficiently interesting to the local historian and sometimes to the genealogist, to be worthy both of the most careful preservation and of frequent study. This Paper brings out well their points of human interest, and the way in which they may supplement other sources—Church Registers, for instance, or army records.

In the second part Mr. Percival Lucas treats of a more purely genealogical matter—*Seize Quartiers*. He is inclined rather to look at the subject from the point of view of the scientific student of hereditary influences, or, again, from that of the collector of ancestors: but his matter is well explained, and useful hints as to sources of information are given.

In the third part we have the *Records of Patented Inventions*, by Mr. Percy C. Rushen. Here, again, the description and explanation of the matter are concise and adequate, and the illustrations of its interest convincing. Mr. Rushen points out the places at which the subject

touches Genealogy. We notice that he also dwells for a moment on the hereditary-influence side of the latter study. There is nothing to be said against this point of view save that it enlarges the scope of a genealogist's work to a rather alarming extent.

The first and third of these three chapters carry on the study of the by-paths of genealogy already seen in Mr. Bernau's Paper on the genealogy of the "Submerged."

Vol. VI.—"*The Genealogist's Legal Dictionary*," By P. C. Rushen. This volume will, doubtless, be found very useful by many students on account of its portability. It is a bold experiment to treat of such a large matter in so small a compass. As we have said, the book will probably be used by many; and by that it is justified: but we think it might be wiser to confine books of the size to smaller subjects (such as those well dealt with in other volumes of this series), which, while separate and capable of separate treatment, are yet definitely departments of a larger whole. The present subject stands rather more apart, and has, we think, suffered a little by compression and excision. It also shows, we are bound to say, some inaccuracy. The description of *gavelkind*, *e. g.*, as "restricted to Kent" is, of course, strictly true: but the word is often used for similar tenure elsewhere, and the whole note is very incomplete.

To take one or two more instances. The explanation of "Patent Roll" as "the official record of grants of Letters Patent and of markets, etc., and Crown Licenses" (the last word should be spelt *Licences*) is not satisfying; "grant of letters patent" is misleading; all, or nearly all, early market grants are to be found on the Charter Roll—which, by the way, is not mentioned in this volume—and we think that the use of the vague "*etc.*" is to be deprecated. *Co-heiresses* and *amerciament* are examples of incorrect nomenclature; nor can we agree in the remark that "a name such as Fitz William should never be translated, for that is the name whatever that of the father was." While in "*dedi, concessi et hac presenti carta confirmam*," the last word is a misreading for *confirmavi;* nor could it, even as it stands, mean "I shall confirm."

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